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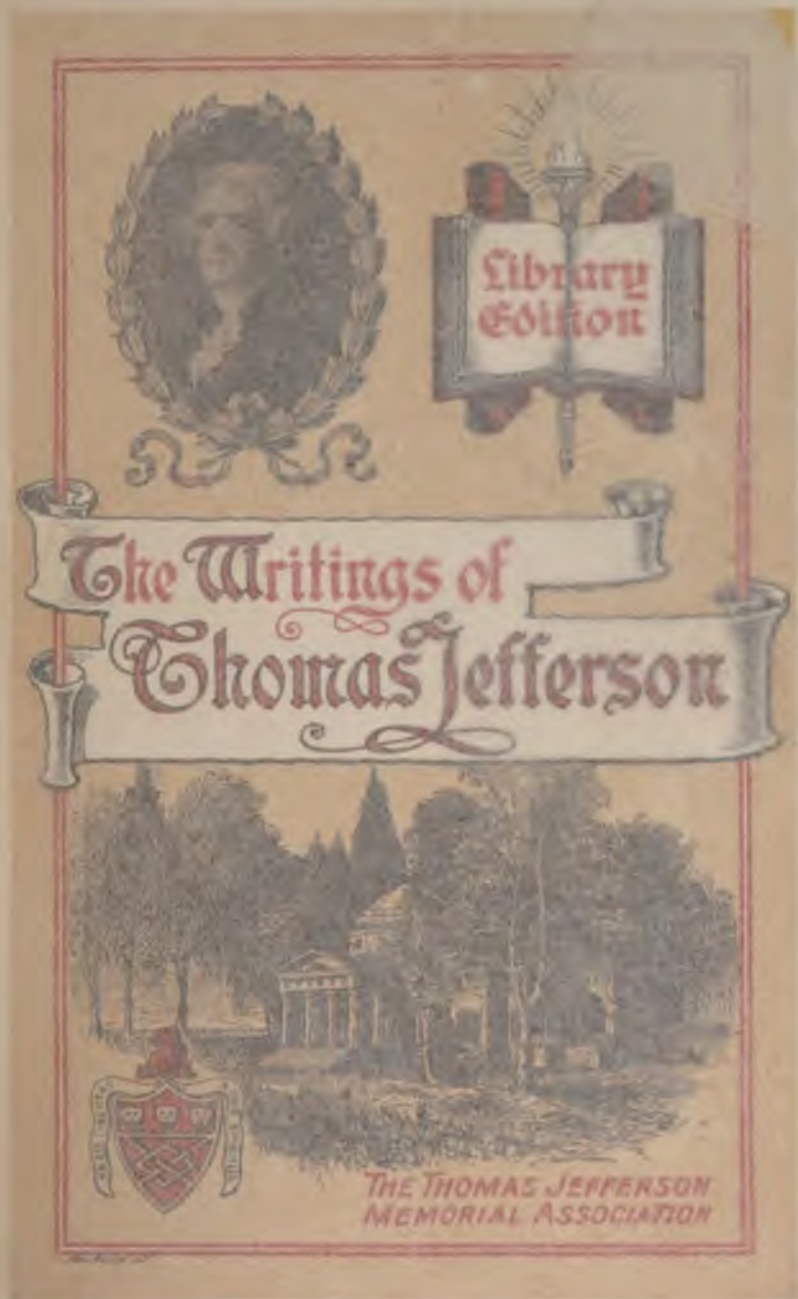
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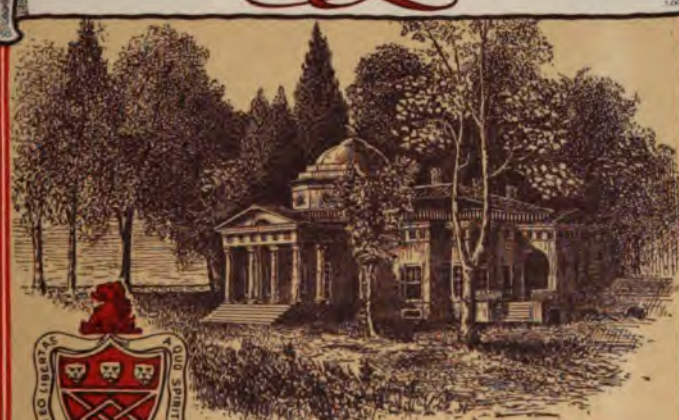

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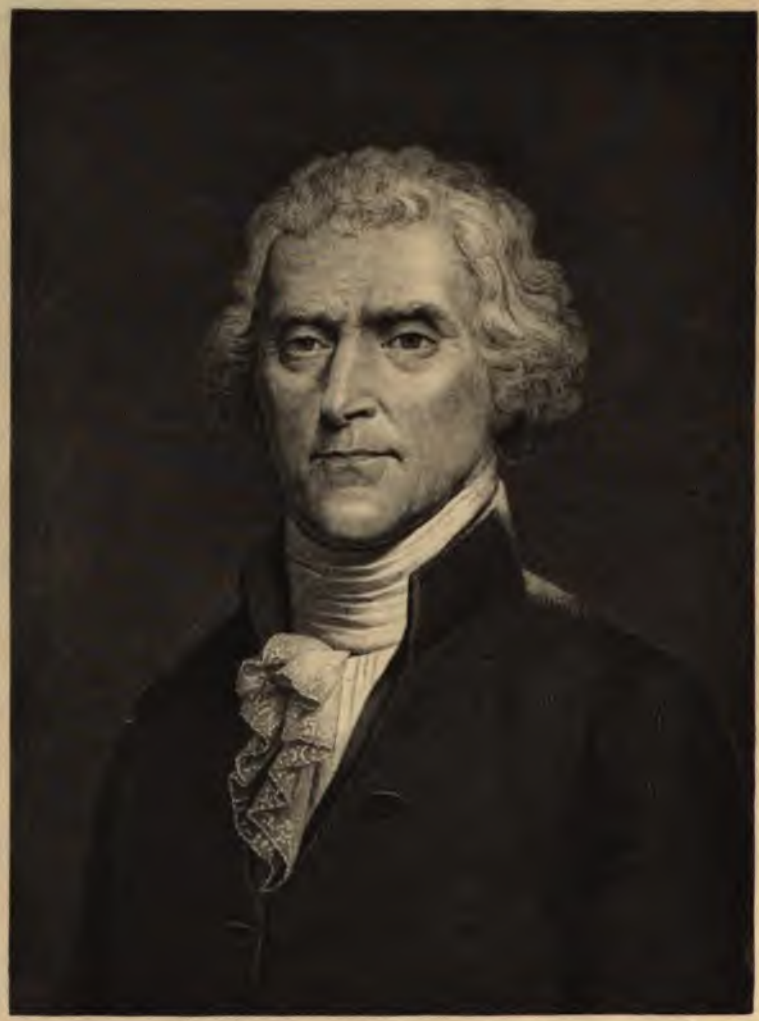

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Jefferson at Forty-four

Photogravure from Dequevauvillier's engraving of the Original Painting by Dumoyers.

Jefferson was about forty-four years old when he sat for this picture at Paris while Ambassador to France [illegible]

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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

ALBERT ELLERY BERGH
MANAGING EDITOR

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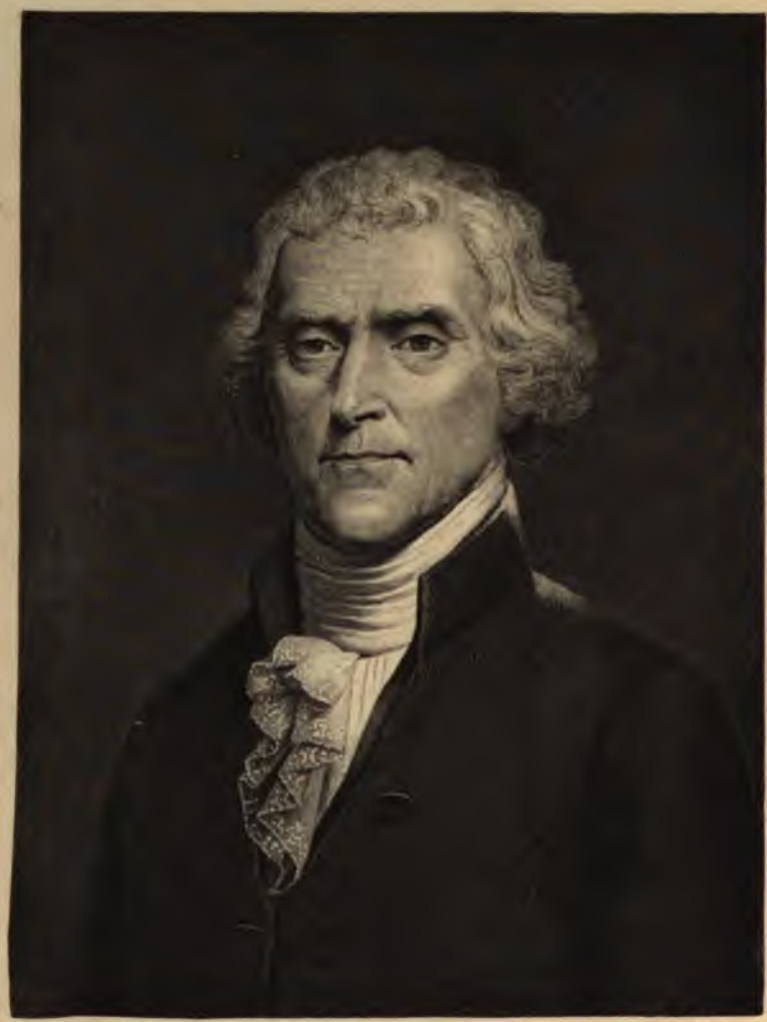

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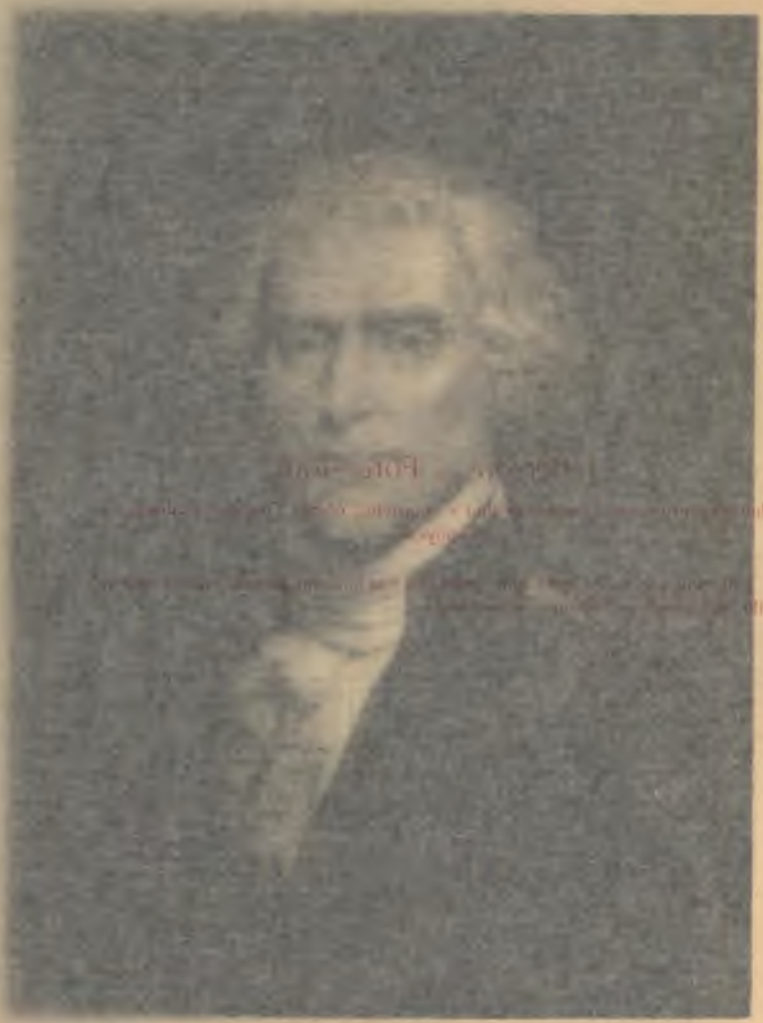

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JEFFERSON'S SERVICE TO CIVILIZATION

DURING

THE FOUNDING OF THE REPUBLIC.[1]

At the present time, when we are preparing to celebrate the centennial anniversary of the peaceable acquisition of the Louisiana territory, the splendid service to the nation rendered by Thomas Jefferson as President of the Republic is rightly commanding the attention of thoughtful patriots; for the peaceable acquisition of this vast domain was rendered possible largely through his foresight and broad-visioned statesmanship. He did not create the opportunity, but he so prepared for the contingency that when the opportunity arose the representatives of the Republic were on the spot to act with the courage and despatch necessary. And this service to the United States was but one of many noble achievements that marked his eight years as Chief Executive. Yet, important as was his work in the Presidential chair, it is overshadowed by his inestimable service to civilization prior to and during the establishing of the Republic.

Thomas Jefferson possessed in a larger degree than any other leading constructive statesman in active

[1] Originally published in *The Arena* of May, 1903.

political life during the foundation period of our Republic the ideals and aspirations of the noblest thinkers and most devoted friends of free government of the present time. He more than any other President of the last century stood for the four cardinal and essential demands of a civilization dominated by the genius of justice, progress, and fraternity: (1) equal rights for all and special privileges for none; (2) liberty of conscience, freedom of speech, and a free press; (3) peace and amity between men and nations; (4) universal education. Moreover, he more than any leading New World statesman of a hundred years ago embodied the noblest concept of the spirit of democracy that up to his day had appeared above the horizon of civilization.

Thomas Jefferson was born in Albemarle County, Virginia, April 2, 1743. From his fifth year until he was sixteen he enjoyed the instruction of the ablest tutors in the vicinity of his home. When sixteen years of age he entered William and Mary College, at Williamsburg, and two years later was graduated from that institution. Though only eighteen years of age, he was remarkably proficient in Greek, Latin, and French, in higher mathematics, natural science, and history, and was thoroughly conversant with the masterpieces of literature, ancient and modern.

Determining on law as a profession, he entered the office of George Wythe, one of the ablest and most high-minded attorneys and jurists of the time. It is an interesting fact that this profound legal scholar

prepared three young men for the bar who were destined to rank among the most illustrious public servants of the Republic—Thomas Jefferson, Chief Justice Marshall, and Henry Clay.

In the early days it was no difficult task to obtain admittance to the Virginia bar. Patrick Henry, with no special previous training, passed muster after only six weeks' study. But Jefferson was born with the instincts of a true scholar. No superficial knowledge or half-way recognition of facts satisfied him. He must sound the depths and seek the fountain-head for a thorough knowledge of the origin of statutes.

For five years Jefferson studied law—studied it exhaustively, after the manner of a scientific student who is not content until he has traced laws to their origin and has become conversant with the conditions obtaining when great rulings were made or precedents established.

In 1768 Jefferson was elected to represent Albemarle County in the Virginia House of Burgesses, a position to which he was chosen at every successive election until the House was closed by the Revolution. His legislative experience during the first session was very brief; for three days after the formal opening of the House the members of the legislature, in response to an appeal from Massachusetts to resist by all constitutional means the attempt of England to collect duties on certain articles of import, passed resolutions declaring

against taxation without representation, affirming the right of the colonies to confer and co-operate in efforts to redress their grievances, and denouncing as "an inexpressible complexity of wrong" the act providing that accused persons should be sent from their country for trial.

For the passing of this outspoken act the royal governor dissolved the House, whereupon the legislators repaired to the historic Raleigh Tavern, at Williamsburg, and resolved to buy no more English goods that could possibly be dispensed with, and to urge their countrymen to do the same. Among the eighty-eight members who signed this compact were Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, Patrick Henry, George Mason, and Richard Henry Lee.

Rapidly and darkly grew the clouds that threatened war. The excitement over the investigation being conducted by the authorities for the Crown over the burning of the "Gaspee" in the waters of Rhode Island had reached fever heat in March, 1773, when a company of as rare souls as ever risked life in defense of a principle assembled in Raleigh Tavern. All were members of the House of Burgesses; all were young men; and Thomas Jefferson was there, as he was from the first a leading spirit in the Revolutionary meetings. These daring young statesmen framed a resolution with great care, so as not to alarm the timid members, but which was destined to bear momentous results. It provided for the appointment of a Committee of Correspondence and

Inquiry for the dissemination of intelligence between the colonies. It was to be a standing committee of eleven. To prevent miscarriage and allay apprehension the resolution was offered—"For the purpose of quieting the minds of His Majesty's faithful servants in this colony, which had been much disturbed by various rumors and reports of proceedings tending to deprive them of their ancient legal and constitutional rights."

Other colonies were urged to appoint similar committees. The resolution was promptly passed, and the committee appointed contained such earnest young patriots as Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Peyton Randolph, and Richard Henry Lee.

This bold action was followed by the dissolution of the House, but the committee remained at the capital and carefully prepared a circular letter, addressed to all the colonies, in which the purpose of the committee was fully explained and an urgent invitation was put forth to each colony immediately to appoint a similar committee, to the end that the thirteen dependencies might be kept in close touch and promptly informed of every overt act taken.

Not only did the colonies promptly respond, but ere long almost every county, settlement, and village had its committee. Their work was indispensable. At one time they were the soul and strength of the rising tide of opposition, the hope of liberty, and the bond of union that emboldened men and colonies to speak and strike in a way that would not have been

thought of if there had been no sense of strength through organization and concert of counsel.

If to-day in every State the friends of Majority Rule and the foes of the criminal aggressions of corporate greed had these State and county Standing Correspondence Committees of Eleven, like the old colonial patriots, and composed of the brightest and bravest men among the conscience element, the corruption of political life incident to virtual government by the corporations and the exploitation and robbery of the people through privilege and monopoly could be quickly checked. Here as on numerous other occasions the actions of Jefferson and the young patriots of the seventies indicate a wise course for the apostles of progressive democracy and justice to-day.

In the spring of 1774 the House of Burgesses assembled, with Jefferson and many of his patriotic friends in their accustomed seats. The Boston Port bill had been published. For the throwing overboard of some chests of tea by some citizens, the first city of New England was to be destroyed by the closing of her ports on June 1st. Young Virginia was as much alive to the gravity of the situation as were the patriots of Massachusetts. All were brothers now, and again in the famous old Raleigh Tavern we find Jefferson, Patrick Henry, the two Lees, and a few other leading spirits of revolt closeted. They are again mapping out an important line of action. All feel that the object of the most

pressing importance is the immediate rousing of the whole population of Virginia to the peril that confronts the American dependencies.

It was finally decided to attempt to pass an order through the House of Burgesses setting apart June 1st as a day for fasting, prayer, and humiliation, to be observed in all the churches. It required tact and skill to prepare a resolution that could be passed, as the nearer the hour drew for the cloud-burst the more timid became the older and more conservative members. In after years, when referring to this important meeting, Jefferson wrote: "We cooked up a resolution, somewhat modernizing the Puritan phrases, appointing the first day of June for a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, to implore Heaven to avert from us the evils of civil war and to inspire us with firmness in support of our Rights, and to turn the hearts of the King and Parliament to moderation and justice."

The young men who prepared this resolution were famed more for skill with the violin and grace in dancing than for piety and prayer; and Jefferson well understood that if he or any of his youthful confrères were to offer the resolution, with its pious preamble smelling so strongly of the "godly" days when Oliver Cromwell and his Ironsides ever had a prayer on their lips, a psalm in their throats, or a sacred text on their tongues, it would, or at least might, call forth the ridicule of the opposition and in the end defeat the measure. So a pious elderly

member was sought out, and he agreed to offer the resolution, which was promptly passed.

Again the royal governor dissolved the House. The members met the next day at the Raleigh Tavern, where they directed the Committee of Correspondence to propose an American Congress of Deputies for all the colonies. Next they voted to meet in August to elect the Virginia members to the proposed congress, and they boldly declared that an attack on one colony was an attack on all.

With this action Virginia may be said to have passed the Rubicon.

Immediately after the adjournment of the meeting the members set out to their various bailiwicks, where they enthused the clergymen of the colony with their own patriotism and so aroused the people that by the first of June the great fast day led to the crystallizing of the revolutionary sentiment of the colony, just as the leaders had predicted it would. Never before, and rarely since, have the clergy been so brave and outspoken. "The cause of liberty is the cause of God!" exclaimed one minister; and this was the sentiment echoed from ocean to mountain. In after years Jefferson wrote of this memorable occasion: "The effect of the day was like a shock of electricity, arousing every man and placing him erect and solidly on his center."

Between the dissolution of the House of Burgesses and the meeting of the members to appoint delegates to the proposed American Congress, Jefferson had

been busily engaged in a somewhat exhaustive and remarkably bold and brilliant presentation of the cause of the colonies, embodied as an outline for a series of instructions to be given to the Virginia delegates for their introduction at the general congress. Unfortunately, when he was *en route* for Williamsburg he was taken suddenly ill and was thus prevented from attending the meeting. Copies of this brief of his for the colonies were, however, forwarded by him to the president of the House, and by him laid before the members. The legislature regarded the argument as rather too radical for the time, though it exerted great influence on those who read the manuscript; and the members ordered that it be published in pamphlet form and circulated for the good of the cause under the title of "A Summary View of the Rights of America." In it the fearless young statesman boldly contended—

> "That the relation between Great Britain and these colonies was exactly the same as that of England and Scotland after the accession of James and before the Union, and the same as her present relation with Hanover, having the same executive chief but no other necessary political connection; and that our emigration of Danes and Saxons gave to the present authorities of the Mother Country over England."

The publication of this pamphlet produced a tremendous impression wherever it was read. It was eagerly sought for on every hand and ran through several editions. There can be no doubt that, coming at the time it did, it exerted a very positive

and far-reaching influence in favor of a bold and firm stand against English aggression.

Copies soon found their way into England. The Liberals hailed it with delight. Some one, it is said to have been Burke, after making some interpolations, republished it to aid the cause of the Opposition. There also several editions were exhausted. "This paper," observes the Honorable John Bigelow, "placed Jefferson among the leaders if not at the head of the revolutionary movement in America. The Declaration of Independence, two years later, was but a perfected transcript of the 'Summary View.' "

From the date of the publishing of this pamphlet Jefferson was the master spirit in the Virginia convention and was as a matter of course selected as a representative from Virginia to the general congress that had been called to meet in Philadelphia.

Shortly after arriving in Philadelphia, Jefferson was assigned committee work when important memorials and replies were to be prepared. His superior education, his knowledge of law, of the precedents of history and of problems relating to political progress, and his happy faculty for presenting a cause in a strong and convincing manner, rendered his services invaluable.

After the Battle of Lexington even the most timid of the representatives came to share the opinions of Mr. Jefferson embodied in his "Summary View." Then it was seen that he had not only clearly per-

ceived the coming storm, but he had voiced with marvelous clearness and felicity the opinions and position of America. Consequently, when the memorable committee was appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence, consisting of Franklin, Adams, Sherman, Livingston, and Jefferson, the latter was selected to draw up the momentous paper. This he promptly did, and after some slight and inconsequential modifications it was adopted by the House and signed on July 4th, 1776.

In speaking of the historical importance that circumstances have given to this great document, Mr. Bigelow observes that—

> "It seemed to be the weapon that dismembered a great empire and that gave birth to a nation of unbounded possibilities. It gave guaranties for the fame of its author which are possessed by no other production of an American pen. For more than a century it has been read to assembled multitudes in every considerable town in the United States on the anniversary of its adoption; and its style and sentiments have been the model for every people which since that time has sought to assert for itself the right of self-government."

For two months after the signing of the Declaration of Independence Jefferson labored incessantly further to aid in the organization of the government and in the preparation for the struggle being waged. At length he felt he could be better spared to the cause of freedom from the general congress than from the legislature in his own State, where matters of great moment were to be met. Accordingly, he

resigned his seat in congress and repaired to Virginia.

This step was taken because he was profoundly impressed with the importance of Virginia aiding in setting the pace for civilization in the New World in regard to just laws that should supplant the old, cumbersome, and unjust statutes that had prevailed. He wished to wipe out many relics of barbarism, and he knew he possessed much influence that might at that time prove of genuine service to civilization.

"When I left Congress in 1776," he tells us in his Autobiography, "it was in the persuasion that our whole code must be reviewed and adapted to our republican form of government, and, now that we had no negatives of councils, governors, and kings to restrain us from doing right, that it be corrected in all its parts with a single eye to reason and the good of those for whose government it was framed."

Arriving at the seat of government, he was at once recognized as the leader and the very life of the progressive or reform element; while around him ranged four or five of as noble-minded men as Virginia has given the world. But in the great reform battle in the legislature, as well as the leader of the committee for the revision of all laws of Virginia, Jefferson was from first to last the master spirit. This is not saying that nearly all the splendid reforms he sought to compass were enacted at this time, or even during the ten or twelve succeeding years, when the magnificent work outlined by Jeffer-

son so far as possible was pushed forward by his most able disciple, James Madison. That could not be expected when a statesman fully one hundred years in advance of his age labored with men who were the products of generations of monarchic rule and whose whole lives had been passed under ancient and oftentimes cruel and barbarously unjust laws.

But the work he accomplished and the measures outlined by him and enacted within the next few years would alone entitle him to a high place among the great benefactors of the New World, though his bold championship of the cause of justice raised a storm of opposition from conservatives and upholders of the old order that continued in a measure for more than thirty years.

"Never, perhaps," observes Mr. Parton, "since the earliest historic times has one mind so incorporated itself with a country's laws and institutions as Jefferson with those of new-born Virginia."

His first victory was won in a hard-fought battle for the abolition of the laws of entail. Many of the great old Virginia houses regarded with dismay the success of this bold innovator in sweeping from the statutes this time-honored and deeply cherished *injustice.*

Next came a still more severe contest—the battle against a State Church and for freedom of thought in religious matters. The Established Church of England had long been supported by the people, and now this powerful church organization, almost

its whole clergy, and the majority of its wealthiest members were arrayed against Jefferson and his intrepid band. Yet the spirit of the hour and the masterly arguments of the broad-minded reformer overturned intrenched injustice, though bulwarked by prejudice, precedent, and conventionalism. At first the victory was but partial, but the arguments marshaled by Jefferson and the fearless pushing forward of the work by Madison and others of his enthusiastic disciples soon accomplished the great reform.

Another hoary but cherished injustice was swept away after a stubborn contest in the abolition of primogeniture and in the enactment of a law requiring equal partition of inheritances. Here again conventionalism and conservatism made a desperate but unavailing stand.

His noble plan for popular education showed that he more than any other philosophic statesman of his time understood the basic fact that free government can only live in the presence of an enlightened people. His elaborate and carefully wrought out plan for popular education was worthy of a great thinker whose appreciation of the importance of enlightenment was only second to his passion for justice.

He proposed that common schools should be established in the counties of the State, one school to every one hundred householders. They were to be supported by the State. Every ten schools were to

have a director or overseer. The State was also to be divided into twenty grammar-school districts, in each of which a grammar-school building, with suitable accommodations for bed and board, was to be erected on public land. These, like the common schools, were to be supported by the public, and here English grammar, Greek, Latin, higher mathematics, and other studies were to be taught. Those scholars who industriously pursued their studies and successfully passed their examinations were to be permitted to attend for several years, while those failing to reach a certain percentage were to be dropped out at the end of each year. Each year also one especially competent pupil was to be selected from each grammar school, thus making twenty in all from the State, and sent to William and Mary College, where they were to be given their tuition, board, lodging, and clothing during the three years required for the full course in that institution.

Jefferson knew that the wealth of the colony was at that time insufficient to enable it to board, clothe, and school all the children, but by his proposed plan every child would have the opportunity to obtain a common-school education, and many a grammar-school training; while each year the State would be enriched by twenty youths whose previous education had indicated that they were intellectually the flower of the youth of the State, equipped with the best college education the community afforded. It will be observed also that this plan would have estab-

lished the precedent of the State assuming as her proper function, not merely the intellectual education of the children, but the supplying, so far as her resources would permit, of food, clothing, and shelter for the young while they were acquiring the knowledge he felt to be absolutely essential to the permanent triumph of true democracy. This may have been socialistic in spirit and tendency, but it certainly was wise and evinced far-seeing statesmanship.

The plan of education as outlined by Mr. Jefferson included the founding of a State public library and the establishing of William and Mary College as a State university. He had the drafting of the entire educational plan, but in this work George Wythe and Edward Pendleton concurred.

In 1779 Jefferson was elected Governor of Virginia. The infant State thus far had for the most part escaped the ravages of war and had lavishly sent men and means to strengthen and aid General Washington; and later, after Jefferson became Governor, when the more southern colonies were attacked, she sent men and munitions to aid in the Carolinas, and when, drained of men and resources, the enemy descended upon her defenseless shores, Richmond was captured and ravished by Arnold. The legislature adjourned to Charlottesville, but being pursued they disbanded. Jefferson narrowly escaped capture.

The lack of aggressive defense on the part of

Governor Jefferson was seized upon by his enemies all over the State, whose animosity had been aroused by his great reform acts, as something reprehensible. But here, as at other times, Jefferson's actions were prompted by the highest motives of patriotism. The success of Washington and of the whole nation was of far more importance than the making of a doubtful stand against the British in Virginia; and, when it was found that Jefferson had merely acted in harmony with Washington's desires, the next legislature passed a strong resolution of confidence and approved his services as Governor.

In 1784 Mr. Jefferson was appointed by Congress minister plenipotentiary to act with Benjamin Franklin and John Adams in negotiating treaties with European nations, and in 1785 he was appointed Minister to France, to succeed Dr. Franklin, a position he held until 1789, discharging his duties in an eminently satisfactory manner. He succeeded in securing important modifications of the French tariff in the interests of American commerce, and also became a great favorite with the abler and more progressive and republican thinkers of France. Daniel Webster in referring to Jefferson's ministry at Paris said: "No court in Europe had at that time a representative in Paris commanding or enjoying higher regard for political knowledge or for general attainment than the Minister of this infant Republic."

It was while he was absent in France that his

friend, James Madison, forwarded to him a draft of the Constitution. Jefferson was amazed and alarmed at its defects. There was no bill of rights properly safeguarding the liberties of the citizens or the States; no precautions against that deadly menace to a republic—a large standing army; no provisions against the curse of monopoly. Freedom of conscience and speech was not granted, and the right of habeas corpus was not made secure. Furthermore, there was no provision against Presidents succeeding themselves indefinitely. The absence of these things was well calculated to disquiet a statesman whose prevision was so keen and whose mind was so richly stored with the warnings of history. Nevertheless he appreciated the perilous condition the country was in without a constitution; so he reluctantly gave his support to the instrument, relying on amendments to remedy its dangerous defects.

When Washington entered upon his duties as first President of the infant Republic, Jefferson was urged to take the portfolio of State, which he very reluctantly accepted. Shortly after the assumption of this portfolio began that struggle of giants for supremacy in the nation, representing two opposing and mutually exclusive ideals of government, which became the chief source of bitterness in the Cabinet of the first President. The apostle of privilege, class rule, and centralization and the apostle of democracy soon found themselves differing at almost every

point, because their fundamental conceptions of government were entirely unlike.

Alexander Hamilton, a man of splendid intellectual abilities, of imperious will, and of aristocratic tastes, as ambitious for military glory as he was autocratic in temper, was under the spell of the limited-monarchy idea. He was in spirit, taste, and temper monarchic or imperialistic, and his contempt for the masses—or the "mob," as the early Federalists were pleased to term the people—was as sincere as was his deep-rooted distrust of them. The fact that he was sincere in these conclusions made him doubly dangerous. With him the old Tory citizens went heart and soul. They desired to make the best of what they considered the unhappy outcome of the war. With him naturally was ranged a large proportion of the wealthier citizens, as he was the special champion of the property class. He also attracted the shrewd financiers, who saw in his schemes golden opportunities for the acquisition of the special privileges and subsidies that would enrich the few, not infrequently at the expense of the many; while even more dangerous than all else to the cause of republicanism was the great number of high-minded patriots whose whole previous reading, training, and prejudices inclined them to Hamilton's view of class superiority and of the right of persons of property or means to arrogate rights denied their poorer brethren.

These theories were altogether abhorrent to Jef-

ferson. He was too much of a philosopher, well versed in history and human life, to imagine that there could be any security or safety such as Hamilton imagined would exist under a firmly established property-holding class government. He knew, as every deeply thoughtful and philosophic student of history knows, that a ruling class, be it ever so wise and humane at the beginning, soon comes to legislate for its own interests and against those of the masses. He knew full well that the splendid new theory of government—that of liberty, justice, and fraternity for all the people—would rapidly resolve itself into an iridescent dream if the government became subservient or in any way limited to a privileged class, or was left to the administration of individuals not directly accountable to all the people.

Hamilton, though he had fought manfully for the adoption of the Constitution, was never satisfied with that instrument, because of its republican character. He had wished to make the offices of President and Senators dependent on good behavior, with provisions for removal only by impeachment, which would virtually mean life tenure. He desired that no one but members of the propertied class should be allowed to vote for Senators, and that all State Governors should be appointed by the President. Other autocratic provisions were also desired. In a word, he wished to model our government as nearly as the American people would permit after the fashion of the limited monarchy of Great Britain,

as he regarded that as the most admirable of governments. Hamilton's lack of confidence in his fellowmen, his sympathy with caste, aristocracy, and wealth, and the fact that his eyes were ever riveted on the past rather than the future, made him timid and fearful of any government not bulwarked by precedent and well-established examples.

On the other hand, Jefferson was a man of faith and conviction. He believed in the divinity of humanity. He had perfect confidence in the people, if equal and exact justice were guaranteed to every unit in the State. He knew that kingscraft, priestcraft, feudalism, aristocracy, autocracy, and in a word all rulership of classes, had been oppressive, unjust, and unfavorable to the highest development of manhood and the rapid progress of civilization; and he believed that the path of safety lay along the line of freedom, fraternity, justice, and equality of rights and opportunities. Hence, though he was as dissatisfied with the Constitution as was Hamilton, it was for reasons diametrically opposed to those of the apostle of privilege, classes, and imperialistic ideals.

Hence, the struggle of the Titans for principles that each held to be essential to the permanence of the new nation grew so fierce that Jefferson's life in the Cabinet was made the most miserable period in his long public career. So bitter at length became this contest that Jefferson resigned his position, not wishing longer to serve in a Cabinet whose discord

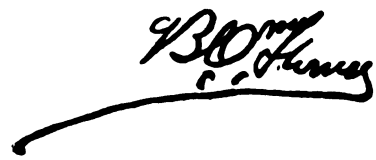
he felt would itself prove disastrous to the best interests of the State. He did not retire, however, until he had aroused the masses to the extreme peril to republicanism arising from the determined attitude of Hamilton and his party of privilege and reactionary tendencies. As Jefferson had hoped to remedy the defects of the Constitution by amendments, Hamilton was determined to make the government stronger than the Constitution, and thus step by step gain through aggressive centralization, through precedents and the ever-growing power of class interests, the ends that he so devoutly desired at the outset and that Jefferson knew would be subversive of the fundamental principles of free government. The masterly opposition of the greatest exponent of faith in the people against the determined champion of class rule and imperialism checked Hamilton's victorious course ere its baleful influence had dominated the government.

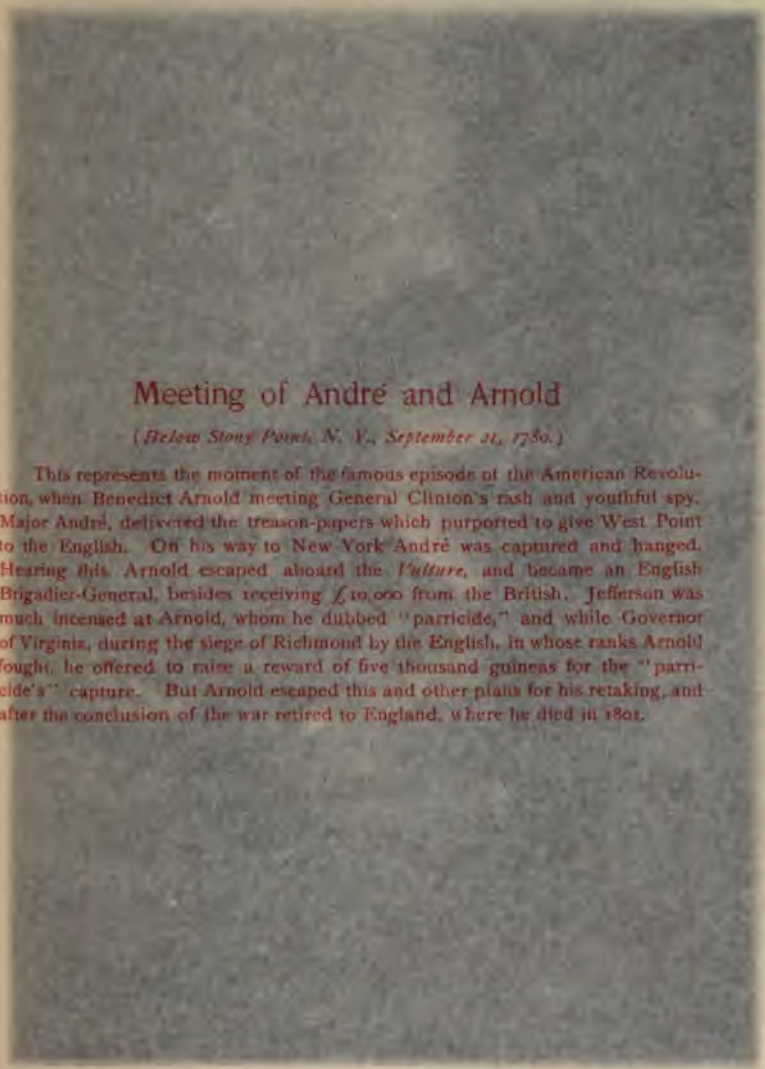
Important as was his brave and determined course in uniting the fortunes of Virginia with those of Massachusetts when the latter colony was the special object of monarchic tyranny; helpful as were his efforts in securing the Standing Committee of Correspondence for the colonies; immensely valuable as was his "Summary View" to the cause of American freedom; essentially glorious as were his voicing of the New World protest and proclamation in the Declaration of Independence; great and far-reaching for good as was his work as the pre-eminent leader

in aggressive statesmanship in Virginia, which eventuated in religious freedom, the abolition of entail and primogeniture, and the provision for the equal division of inheritances; splendid as were his program for popular education and his plan for the abolition of slavery and the colonization of the negroes—all these services are overshadowed and eclipsed by his brave, masterly, and victorious stand for freedom against monarchic, reactionary, and class interests. This may, indeed, be said to be the supreme service he rendered in the founding of the greatest of modern nations; for his genius, courage, single-heartedness, patriotism, and loyalty to the lodestone of liberty and just government, guaranteeing equality of opportunity and rights to all citizens, served to beat back the baleful influences that in the light of history and the nature of society could only in the end have proved fatal to free government.

The owls and bats of reaction were put to flight, as were also the harpies of privilege and the cormorants of class interests, while the principles of free government were so clearly established in the imagination of the people that the high priest of the English system and the apostle of classes lost his sway over the nation. Mr. Jefferson, on the other hand, not only became the great leader and interpreter of democracy and the people's choice for Chief Executive for eight years, but the highest office in the Republic passed from him to Mr. Madison, his

best-beloved and most devoted disciple, who in turn yielded it to another of Mr. Jefferson's friends and followers. And thus the reign of popular government and robust Americanism became so firmly established that until after the assassination of Abraham Lincoln—another apostle of freedom and champion of the common people—the Republic was the greatest moral world power of any age or time.





Meeting of André and Arnold

(Below Stony Point, N. Y., September 21, 1780.)

This represents the moment of the famous episode of the American Revolution, when Benedict Arnold meeting General Clinton's rash and youthful spy, Major André, delivered the treason-papers which purported to give West Point to the English. On his way to New York André was captured and hanged. Hearing this, Arnold escaped aboard the *Vulture*, and became an English Brigadier-General, besides receiving £10,000 from the British. Jefferson was much incensed at Arnold, whom he dubbed "parricide," and while Governor of Virginia, during the siege of Richmond by the English, in whose ranks Arnold fought, he offered to raise a reward of five thousand guineas for the "parricide's" capture. But Arnold escaped this and other plans for his retaking, and after the conclusion of the war retired to England, where he died in 1801.

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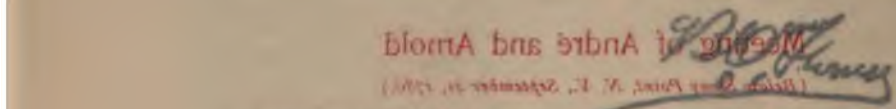

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Richard Henry Lee's Resolution

(June 7, 1776)

Photo-engraving from the Original Draft in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

This resolution was presented to the Continental Congress a month before the Declaration of Independence was read. In fact, this was the motion passed by Congress that gave Jefferson the task of writing his famous State Document. Richard Henry Lee's speech on introducing this bold measure was one of the most brilliant examples of eloquence ever heard. The Resolution reads:

Resolved, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connections between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.

That it is expedient forthwith to take the most effectual measures for forming foreign alliances.

That a plan of confederation be prepared and transmitted to the respective Colonies for their consideration and approbation.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee that the first resolution be postponed to this day three weeks, and that in the meantime [least any time should be lost in case the Congress agree to this resolution] a committee be appointed to prepare a Declaration to the effect of the said first resolution.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

JEFFERSON AT FORTY-FOUR ..... *Frontispiece*
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JEFFERSON'S WORKS.

LETTERS WRITTEN WHILE IN EUROPE.

1784–1789.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, May 4, 1788.

SIR,—I had the honor of addressing you in two letters of the 13th and 16th of March, from Amsterdam, and have since received Mr. Ramson's of February the 20th. I staid at Amsterdam about ten or twelve days after the departure of Mr. Adams, in hopes of seeing the million of the last year filled up. This, however, could not be accomplished on the spot. But the prospect was so good as to have dissipated all fears; and since my return here, I learn (not officially from our bankers but) through a good channel, that they have received near four hundred thousand florins, since the date of the statement I sent you, in my letter of March the 16th; and I presume we need not fear the completion of that loan, which will provide for all our purposes of the year 1788, as stated in that paper. I hope, therefore, to receive from the treasury orders in conformity

thereto, that I may be able to proceed to the redemption of our captives. A provision for the purposes of the years, 1789 and 1790, as stated in the same paper, will depend on the ratification by Congress of Mr. Adams' bonds of this year, for another million of florins. But there arises a new call from this government, for its interest at least. Their silence, hitherto, has made it be believed in general, that they consented to the non-payment of our interest to them, in order to accommodate us. You will perceive in the seventy-fifth and seventy-sixth pages of the *compte rendu*, which I have the honor to send you, that they call for this interest, and will publish whether it be paid or not; and by No. 25, page eighty-one, that they count on its regular receipt, for the purposes of the year. These calls, for the first days of January, 1789 and 1790, will amount to about a million and a half of florins more; and if to be raised by loan, it must be for two millions, as well to cover the expenses of the loan, as that loans are not opened for fractions of millions. This publication seems to render a provision for this interest as necessary, as for that of Amsterdam.

I had taken measures to have it believed at Algiers, that our government withdrew its attention from our captives there. This was to prepare their captors for the ransoming them at a reasonable price. I find, however, that Captain O'Bryan is apprized that I have received some authority on this subject. He writes me a cruel letter, supposing me the obstacle

to their redemption. Their own interest requires that I should leave them to think thus hardly of me. Were the views of government communicated to them, they could not keep their own secret, and such a price would be demanded for them, as Congress, probably, would think ought not to be given, lest it should be the cause of involving thousands of others of their citizens in the same condition. The moment I have money, the business shall be set in motion.

By a letter from Joseph Chiappe, our agent at Mogadore, I am notified of a declaration of the Emperor of Morocco, that if the States General of the United Netherlands do not, before the month of May, send him an ambassador, to let him know whether it is war or peace between them, he will send one to them with five frigates; and that if their dispositions be unfavorable, their frigates shall proceed to America to make prizes on the Dutch, and to sell them there. It seems to depend on the Dutch, therefore, whether the Barbary powers shall learn the way to our coasts, and whether we shall have to decide the question of the legality of selling in our ports, vessels taken from them. I informed you, in a former letter, of the declaration made by the court of Spain to that of London, relative to its naval armament, and also of the declaration of the Count de Montmorin to the Russian minister here, on the same subject. I have good information, that the court of Spain has itself made a similar and formal

declaration to the minister of Russia, at Madrid. So that Russia is satisfied she is not the object. I doubt whether the English are equally satisfied as to themselves. The season has hitherto prevented any remarkable operation between the Turks and the two empires. The war, however, will probably go on, and the season now admits of more important events. The Empress has engaged Commodore Paul Jones in her service. He is to have the rank of rear admiral, with a separate command, and it is understood that he is in no case to be commanded. He will probably be opposed to the Captain Pacha on the Black Sea. He received this invitation at Copenhagen, and as the season for commencing the campaign was too near to admit time for him to ask and await the permission of Congress, he accepted the offer, only stipulating, that he should be always free to return to the orders of Congress whenever called for, and that he should not be expected to bear arms against France. He conceived that the experience he should gain, would enable him to be more useful to the United States, should they ever have occasion for him. It has been understood, that Congress had had it in contemplation to give him the grade of rear admiral, from the date of the action of the Serapis, and it is supposed, that such a mark of their approbation, would have a favorable influence on his fortune in the north. Copies of the letters which passed between him and the Danish Minister are herewith transmitted. I shall immediately represent to Count

Bernstorff, that the demand for our prizes can have no connection with a treaty of commerce; that there is no reason why the claims of our seamen should await so distant and uncertain an event; and press the settlement of this claim.

This country still pursues its line of peace. The ministry seem now all united in it; some from a belief of their inability to carry on a war; others from a desire to arrange their internal affairs, and improve their constitution. The differences between the King and parliaments, threaten a serious issue. Many symptoms indicate that the government has in contemplation some act of high-handed authority. An extra number of printers have, for several days, been employed, the apartment wherein they are at work being surrounded by a body of guards, who permit nobody either to come out or go in. The commanders of the provinces, civil and military, have been ordered to be at their stations on a certain day of the ensuing week. They are accordingly gone; so that the will of the King is probably to be announced through the whole kingdom, on the same day. The parliament of Paris, apprehending that some innovation is to be attempted, which may take from them the opportunity of deciding on it after it shall be made known, came last night to the resolution, of which I have the honor to enclose you a manuscript copy. This you will perceive to be, in effect, a declaration of rights. I am obliged to close here the present letter, lest I should miss the oppor-

tunity of conveying it by a passenger who is to call for it. Should the delay of the packet admit any continuation of these details, they shall be the subject of another letter, to be forwarded by post. The gazettes of Leyden and France accompany this. I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO MONSIEUR TERRASSON.

PARIS, May 7, 1788.

SIR,—I have read with attention the papers on the subject of the canal of the Santee and Cooper rivers, and shall be glad to do anything I can to promote it. But I confess I have small expectations for the following reason: General Washington sent me a copy of the Virginia act for opening the Potomac. As that canal was to unite the commerce of the whole western country almost, with the eastern, it presented a great view. The General detailed the advantages of it, and it had the weight of his name, and was known to be under his immediate direction. It was pushed here among the monied men to obtain subscriptions, but not a single one could be obtained. The stockjobbing in this city offered greater advantages than to buy shares in the canal. I tried whether they would lend money on the security of the canal, but they answered they could get as good an interest by lending to their own government, with

a douceur in the outset, and would have their money under their own eye, more at their command, and more sure as to the payment of interest. However, if you find any opening, and can point out to me how I may be useful in promoting it, I shall do it with infinite pleasure. I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO M. DUMAS.

PARIS, May 15, 1788.

SIR,—My first moments after my return having been necessarily occupied by letters which had come during my absence, and which required immediate answers, I have not till now been able to resume my correspondence with you, and to inform you of my safe arrival here after a very agreeable tour through Germany. Our news from America comes down to the 14th of March. At that time the state of the new constitution was thus: It had been accepted in Massachusetts by

	187	ayes,	against	168	noes.
Connecticut	148	"	"	40	"
Pennsylvania	46	"	"	23	"
Delaware	22	"	"	00	"
New Jersey	39	"	"	00	"
Georgia	33	"	"	00	"
	475			231	

The Conventions of the other States were to meet as follows:

Maryland	April 21.
South Carolina	May 12.
Virginia	May 26.
New York	June 17.
North Carolina	July —
New Hampshire	June —

Rhode Island had not called a Convention.

I have received a letter from General Washington, wherein he gives it as his opinion, that Virginia will accede to it. Mr. Madison inclines to the same opinion. In fact, if Maryland and South Carolina should have adopted it, as there is great reason to believe, the motives will become very cogent on Virginia for accepting also. She will see that eight States have already concurred, that New Hampshire and North Carolina will probably concur, that the opposition to be made by Virginia and New York would have little effect, and joined with Rhode Island would even be opprobrious. So that probably she will follow the example set by Massachusetts of accepting the constitution unconditionally, and instructing her delegates to join with those of Massachusetts in urging future amendment. In this case the matter will be fixed by nine States at the close of this month, or beginning of the next, and we may have the news by the last of June. It is very possible that the President and new Congress may

be sitting at New York in the month of September. I have no other material news from America. Here all seems peace without and war within. A great deal of good is offered to the nation, but some think there is more evil in the form of the offer. I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO THE HONORABLE THE BOARD OF TREASURY.

PARIS, May 16, 1788.

GENTLEMEN,—In a letter of March 29th, which I had the honor of addressing you from Amsterdam, I stated to you what had passed till that date relative to our money affairs in England, and I enclosed you an estimate of these, which looks forward to the end of the year 1790. I mentioned to you also, that the prospect of filling up the loan of the last million was at that moment good, so that I thought you might be at ease as to the payment of the June interest. I have now the pleasure to enclose you a letter from our bankers of the 8th instant, wherein they inform me they have sold bonds enough to pay the June interest and have a surplus sufficient to replace the moneys lent from the Virginia fund, and by Mr. Grand. These advances were but momentary accommodations, made under the mistaken idea that the money was in Amsterdam ready to replace them, and it was not in idea to inscribe them on the roll of the

debts of the United States, to take their turn of payment. You will therefore, I hope, think me justifiable in having them replaced immediately, as there is money enough now for that purpose, over and above the June interest. The balance due to Gateau is for one of the medals I had your orders to have made, and has been due upwards of a twelvemonth. Mr. Short's salary I suppose included under your general order that the diplomatic calls shall be regularly paid by our bankers. So far then, I shall venture to draw immediately, perhaps also for the little balance due to Ast, whose distresses call loudly for assistance. He has been obliged to carry his clothes to the pawnbrokers to raise money for his subsistence. All the other articles of the estimate will await your orders, which you will therefore be pleased to give as you think proper. The foreign officers had proposed a meeting, the object of which was, as I heard, to address Congress in terms which would have been very disagreeable, and at the same time to present a petition to the King, claiming his interposition. This would have made a great deal of noise, and produced very disagreeable effects. This was a few days before I went to Amsterdam. I saw Colonel Gouvion the day before I set out, and desired him to quiet them till my return, explaining to him that one of the objects of my journey would be to enable you to pay them. I have since my return, informed them of the prospect of payment, and that your orders for that purpose may be hoped by the

month of June. A letter from O'Brian, at Algiers, shows me that he has had an intimation of my being authorized to redeem them, and imputes the delay to me. I have endeavored, on the contrary, to have it believed at Algiers, that the public will not interest itself in their redemption, having been assured by the General of the religious order who is to act for us, that if the Dey has the least expectations that the public will interfere, he will hold them at such prices as this order has never given, and cannot consent to give, because of the precedent, and that in this case we shall lose the benefit of their agency. Under these circumstances it would be cruelty to the captives to let them know we are proceeding to their redemption. They could not keep their own secret, and the indiscretion of any one of them might forever blast the prospect of their redemption. For I suppose it to be uncontrovertible that a regard to the safety and liberty of our seamen and citizens in general forbids us to give such prices for those in captivity as will draw on our vessels peculiarly the pursuit of those sea-dogs. It is for the good of the captives themselves, therefore, that we submit to be thought hardly of by them; but no time should be lost unnecessarily in proceeding to their redemption; nor shall a moment be lost after I shall be authorized by your order to receive the money. You perceive that by the extract from the letter of the bankers which I have the honor to enclose you, they expect to place speedily the rest of the bonds. I think I

may venture to assure you they can do it at any moment if they are pushed. You know the misunderstandings which exist between these two houses. These are the cause of their not always saying as much as they might venture to say with truth. There is an error in the estimate I sent you, which must be explained. I omitted, when I set out from Paris, to ask Mr. Short for a state of the balance due him, and had always been ignorant of it, as the account remained between him and Mr. Grand. When making the estimate at Amsterdam, therefore, I was obliged to conjecture what that balance was, which I did from a very slight and mistaken circumstance as I now find. The balance due him, instead of being about 5000*l.*, as I had guessed, is 13,146*l.* 6, as you will see by his account now enclosed.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, Gentlemen, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO THE COUNT DE MOUSTIER.

PARIS, May 17, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—I have at length an opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your favors of February, and March the 14th, and congratulating you on your resurrection from the dead, among whom you had been confidently entombed by the newsdealers of Paris. I am sorry that your first impres-

sions have been disturbed by matters of etiquette, where surely they should least have been expected to occur. These disputes are the most insusceptible of determination, because they have no foundation in reason. Arbitrary and senseless in their nature, they are arbitrarily decided by every nation for itself. These decisions are meant to prevent disputes, but they produce ten where they prevent one. It would have been better, therefore, in a new country, to have excluded etiquette altogether; or if it must be admitted in some form or other, to have made it depend on some circumstance founded in nature, such as the age or station of the parties. However, you have got over all this, and, I am in hopes, have been able to make up a society suited to your own dispositions. Your situation will doubtless be improved by the adoption of the new constitution, which I hope will have taken place before you receive this. I see in this instrument, a great deal of good. The consolidation of our government, a just representation, an administration of some permanence, and other features of great value, will be gained by it. There are, indeed, some faults, which revolted me a good deal in the first moment; but we must be contented to travel on towards perfection, step by step. We must be contented with the ground which this constitution will gain for us, and hope that a favorable moment will come for correcting what is amiss in it. I view in the same light, the innovations making here. The new organization of the judiciary

department is undoubtedly for the better. The reformation of the criminal code, is an immense step taken towards good. The composition of the Plenary court is, indeed, vicious in the extreme; but the basis of that court may be retained, and its composition changed. Make of it a representative of the people, by composing it of members sent from the Provincial Assemblies, and it becomes a valuable member of the constitution. But it is said, the court will not consent to do this; the court, however, has consented to call the States General, who will consider the Plenary court but as a canvas for them to work on. The public mind is manifestly advancing on the abusive prerogatives of their governors, and bearing them down. No force in the government can withstand this, in the long run. Courtiers had rather give up power than pleasures; they will barter, therefore, the usurped prerogatives of the King, for the money of the people. This is the agent by which modern nations will recover their rights. I sincerely wish that in this country, they may be contented with a peaceable and passive opposition. At this moment, we are not sure of this, though as yet it is difficult to say what form the opposition will take. It is a comfortable circumstance, that their neighboring enemy is under the administration of a minister disposed to keep the peace. Engage in war who will, may my country long continue your peaceful residence, and merit your good offices with that nation, whose affections it is their duty and interest to culti-

vate. Accept these and all other the good wishes of him, who has the honor to be, with sincere esteem and respect, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, May 23, 1788.

SIR,—When I wrote my letter of the 4th instant, I had no reason to doubt that a packet would have sailed on the 10th, according to the established order. The passengers had all, except one, gone down to Havre in this expectation. However, none have sailed, and perhaps none will sail, as I think the suppression of the packets is one of the economies in contemplation. An American merchant, concerned in the commerce of the whale oil, proposed to government to despatch his ships from Havre and Boston at stated periods, and to take on board the French courier and mail, and the proposition has been well enough received. I avail myself of a merchant vessel going from Havre, to write the present.

In my letter of the 4th, I stated to you the symptoms which indicated that government had some great stroke of authority in contemplation. That night, they sent guards to seize Monsieur d'Epremenil and Monsieur Goisland, two members of parliament, in their houses. They escaped, and took sanctuary in the Palais (or parliament house). The parliament assembled itself extraordinarily, sum-

moned the Dukes and Peers specially, and came to the resolution of the 5th, which they sent to Versailles by deputies, determined not to leave the palace till they received an answer. In the course of that night, a battalion of guards surrounded the house. The two members were taken by the officers from among their fellows, and sent off to prison, the one to Lyons, the other (d'Epremenil), the most obnoxious, to an island in the Mediterranean. The parliament then separated. On the 8th, a bed of justice was held at Versailles, wherein were enregistered the six ordinances which had been passed in Council, on the 1st of May, and which I now send you. They were in like manner enregistered in beds of justice, on the same day, in nearly all the parliaments of the kingdom. By these ordinances, 1, the criminal law is reformed, by abolishing examination on the *sellette*, which, like our holding up the hand at the bar, remained a stigma on the party, though innocent; by substituting an oath, instead of torture, on the *question préalable*, which is used after condemnation, to make the prisoner discover his accomplices; (the torture abolished in 1789, was on the *question préparatoire*, previous to judgment, in order to make the prisoner accuse himself;) by allowing counsel to the prisoner for his defence; obliging the judges to specify in their judgments the offence for which he is condemned; and respiting execution a month, except in the case of sedition. This reformation is unquestionably good, and within

the ordinary legislative powers of the crown. That it should remain to be made at this day, proves that the monarch is the last person in his kingdom, who yields to the progress of philanthropy and civilization. 2. The organization of the whole judiciary department is changed, by the institution of subordinate jurisdictions, the taking from the parliaments the cognizance of all causes of less value than twenty thousand livres, reducing their numbers to about a fourth, and suppressing a number of special courts. Even this would be a great improvement, if it did not imply that the King is the only person in this nation who has any rights or any power. 3. The right of registering the laws is taken from the parliaments, and transferred to a Plenary court, created by the King. This last is the measure most obnoxious to all persons. Though the members are to be for life, yet a great proportion of them are from descriptions of men always candidates for the royal favor in other lines. As yet, the general consternation has not sufficiently passed over, to say whether the matter will end here. I send you some papers, which indicate symptoms of resistance. These are, the resolution of the Noblesse of Brittany, the declaration of the Advocate General of Provence, which is said to express the spirit of that province; and the *Arret* of the Chatelet, which is the hustings court of the city of Paris. Their refusal to act under the new character assigned them, and the suspension of their principal functions, are very embarrassing.

The clamors this will excite, and the disorders it may admit, will be loud, and near to the royal ear and person. The parliamentary fragments permitted to remain, have already, some of them, refused, and probably all will refuse, to act under that form. The Assembly of the clergy, which happens to be sitting, have addressed the King to call the States General immediately. Of the Dukes and Peers (thirty-eight in number), nearly half are either minors or superannuated; two-thirds of the acting part seem disposed to avoid taking a part; the rest, about eight or nine, have refused, by letters to the King, to act in the new courts. A proposition excited among the Dukes and Peers, to assemble and address the King for a modification of the Plenary court, seems to show that the government would be willing to compromise on that head. It has been prevented by the Dukes and Peers in opposition, because they suppose that no modification to be made by the government will give to that body the form they desire, which is that of a representative of the nation. They foresee that if the government is forced to this, they will call them, as nearly as they can, in the ancient forms; in which case, less good will be to be expected from them. But they hope they may be got to concur in a declaration of rights, at least, so that the nation may be acknowledged to have some fundamental rights, not alterable by their ordinary legislature, and that this may form a groundwork for future improvements. These seem to be the

views of the most enlightened and disinterested characters of the opposition. But they may be frustrated by the nation's making no cry at all, or by a hasty and premature appeal to arms. There is neither head nor body in the nation to promise a successful opposition to two hundred thousand regular troops. Some think the army could not be depended on by the government; but the breaking men to military discipline, is breaking their spirits to principles of passive obedience. A firm, but quiet opposition will be the most likely to succeed. Whatever turn this crisis takes, a revolution in their constitution seems inevitable, unless foreign war supervene, to suspend the present contest. And a foreign war they will avoid, if possible, from an inability to get money. The loan of one hundred and twenty millions, of the present year, is filled up by such subscriptions as may be relied on. But that of eighty millions, proposed for the next year, cannot be filled up in the actual situation of things.

The Austrians have been successful in an attack upon Schabatz, intended as a preliminary to that of Belgrade. In that on Dubitza, another town in the neighborhood of Belgrade, they have been repulsed, and, as is suspected, with considerable loss. It is still supposed the Russian fleet will go into the Mediterranean, though it will be much retarded by the refusal of the English government, to permit its sailors to engage in the voyage. Sweden and Denmark are arming from eight to twelve ships of the

line each. The English and Dutch treaties you will find in the Leyden gazettes of May the 9th and 13th. That between England and Prussia is supposed to be stationary. Monsieur de St. Priest, the ambassador from this court to the Hague, has either gone, or is on the point of going. The Emperor of Morocco has declared war against England. I enclose you his orders in our favor on that occasion. England sends a squadron to the Mediterranean for the protection of her commerce, and she is reinforcing her possessions in the two Indies. France is expecting the arrival of an embassy from Tippoo Saib, is sending some regiments to the West Indies, and a fleet of evolution into the Atlantic. Seven ships of the line and several frigates sailed from Cadiz on the 22d of April, destined to perform evolutions off the western islands, as the Spaniards say, but really to their American possessions, as is suspected. Thus the several powers are, by little and little, taking the position of war, without an immediate intention of waging it. But that the present ill humor will finally end in war, is doubted by nobody.

In my letter of February 5th, I had the honor of informing you of the discontent produced by our *Arret* of December the 29th, among the merchants of this country, and of the deputations from the chambers of commerce to the minister on that subject. The articles attacked were the privileges on the sale of our ships, and the entrepôt for codfish. The former I knew to be valuable; the latter I supposed

not so; because during the whole of the time we have had our free ports in this kingdom, we have never used them for the smuggling of fish. I concluded, therefore, the ports of entrepôt would not be used for that purpose. I saw that the ministers would sacrifice something to quiet the merchants, and was glad to save the valuable article relative to our ships, by abandoning the useless one for our codfish. It was settled, therefore, in our conferences, that an *Arret* should be passed, abridging the former one only as to the entrepôt of codfish. I was in Holland when the *Arret* came out; and did not get a copy of it till yesterday. Surprised to find that fish oil was thereby also excluded from the entrepôt, I have been to-day to make some inquiry into the cause; and from what I can learn, I conclude it must have been a mere error in the clerk who formed the *Arret*, and that it escaped attention on its passage. The entrepôt of whale oil was not objected to by a single deputy at the conferences, and the excluding it is contrary to the spirit of encouragement the ministers have shown a disposition to give. I trust, therefore, I may get it altered on the first occasion which occurs, and I believe one will soon occur. In the meantime we do not store a single drop for reexportation, as all which comes here is needed for the consumption of this country; which will alone, according to appearances, become so considerable as to require all we can produce.

By a letter of the 8th instant, from our bankers,

I learn that they had disposed of bonds enough to pay our June interest, and to replace the temporary advances made by Mr. Grand, and from a fund placed here by the State of Virginia. I have desired them, accordingly, to replace these moneys, which had been lent for the moment only, and in confidence of immediate repayment. They add that the payment of the June interest and the news from America, will, as they trust, enable them to place the remaining bonds of the last year's million. I suppose, indeed, that there is no doubt of it, and that none would have been expressed, if those two houses could draw better together than they do. In the meantime, I hope the treasury board will send an order for so much as may be necessary for executing the purposes of Congress, as to our captives at Algiers.

I send you herewith a Memoire of Monsieur Caseaux, whose name is familiar on the journals of Congress. He prepared it to be delivered to the King, but I believe he will think better, and not deliver it. The gazettes of France and Leyden accompany this. I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

P. S. *May* 27, 1788. I have kept my letter open to the moment of Mr. Warville's departure, (he being the bearer of it,) that I might add any new incidents that should occur. The refusal of the Chatelet and Grande Chambre of Paris to act in the new character assigned them, continues. Many of the *grandes*

bailliages accept, some conditionally, some fully. This will facilitate greatly the measures of government, and may possibly give them a favorable issue. The parliament of Thoulouse, considering the edicts as nullities, went on with their business. They have been exiled in consequence. Monsieur de St. Priest left Paris for the Hague, on the 23d. I mention this fact, because it denotes the acquiescence of this government in the late revolution there. A second division of a Spanish fleet will put to sea soon. Its destination not declared. Sweden is arming to a greater extent than was at first supposed. From twelve to sixteen sail of the line are spoken of, on good grounds. Denmark, for her own security, must arm in proportion to this.

TO JOHN BROWN.

PARIS, May 26, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—It was with great pleasure I saw your name on the roll of Delegates, but I did not know you had actually come on to New York, till Mr. Paradise informed me of it. Your removal from Carolina to Kentucky, was not an indifferent event to me. I wish to see that country in the hands of people well disposed, who know the value of the connection between that and the maritime States, and who wish to cultivate it. I consider their happiness as bound up together, and that every measure should be taken, which may draw the bands of union tighter. It will

be an efficacious one to receive them into Congress, as I perceive they are about to desire. If to this be added an honest and disinterested conduct in Congress, as to everything relating to them, we may hope for a perfect harmony. The navigation of the Mississippi was, perhaps, the strongest trial to which the justice of the federal government could be put. If ever they thought wrong about it, I trust they have got to rights. I should think it proper for the western country to defer pushing their right to that navigation to extremity, as long as they can do without it tolerably; but that the moment it becomes absolutely necessary for them, it will become the duty of the maritime States to push it to every extremity, to which they would their own right of navigating the Chesapeake, the Delaware, the Hudson, or any other water. A time of peace will not be the surest for obtaining this object. Those, therefore, who have influence in the new country, would act wisely to endeavor to keep things quiet till the western parts of Europe shall be engaged in war. Notwithstanding the aversion of the courts of London and Versailles to war, it is not certain that some incident may not engage them in it. England, France, Spain, Russia, Sweden and Denmark will all have fleets at sea, or ready to put to sea immediately. Who can answer for the prudence of all their officers? War is their interest. Even their courts are pacific from impotence only, not from disposition. I wish to heaven that our new govern-

ment may see the importance of putting themselves immediately into a respectable position. To make provision for the speedy payment of their foreign debts, will be the first operation necessary. This will give them credit. A concomitant one should be magazines and manufactures of arms. This country is at present in a crisis of very uncertain issue. I am in hopes it will be a favorable one to the rights and happiness of the people; and that this will take place quietly. Small changes in the late regulations will render them wholly good. The campaign opens between the Turks and the two empires, with an aspect rather favorable to the former. The Russians seem not yet thawed from the winter's torpitude. They have no army yet in motion; and the Emperor has been worsted in two-thirds of the small actions which they have had as yet. He is said to be rather retiring. I do not think, however, that the success of the Turks in the partisan affairs which have taken place, can authorize us to presume that they will be superior also in great decisions. Their want of discipline and skill in military manœuvres, is of little consequence in small engagements, and of great in larger ones. Their grand army was at Adrianople by the last accounts, and to get from thence to Belgrade, will require a month. It will be that time at least, then, before we can have any very interesting news from them. In the meantime the plague rages at Constantinople to a terrible degree. I cannot think but that it would be desir-

able to all commercial nations, to have that nation and all its dependencies driven from the sea-coast into the interior parts of Asia and Africa. What a field would thus be restored to commerce! The finest parts of the old world are now dead, in a great degree, to commerce, to arts, to science and to society. Greece, Syria, Egypt and the northern coast of Africa, constituted the whole world almost, for the Romans, and to us they are scarcely known, scarcely accessible at all. The present summer will enable us to judge what turn this contest will take. I am greatly anxious to hear that nine States accept our new constitution. We must be contented to accept of its good, and to cure what is evil in it hereafter. It seems necessary for our happiness at home; I am sure it is so for our respectability abroad. I shall, at all times, be glad to hear from you, from New York, from Kentucky, or whatever region of the earth you inhabit; being with sentiments of very sincere esteem and attachment, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

PARIS, May 27, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—Your favors of April the 14th and 29th, and May the 8th, have lately come to hand. That of January the 29th, by Monsieur de Molinedo, had been left here during my absence on a journey to Amsterdam. That gentleman had gone, as I pre-

sume, before my return, from my being unable to learn anything of him.

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With respect to the Isthmus of Panama, I am assured by Burgoyne, (who would not choose to be named, however,) that a survey was made, that a canal appeared very practicable, and that the idea was suppressed for political reasons altogether. He has seen and minutely examined the report. This report is to me a vast desideratum, for reasons political and philosophical. I cannot help suspecting the Spanish squadron to be gone to South America, and that some disturbances have been excited there by the British. The court of Madrid may suppose we would not see this with an unwilling eye. This may be true as to the uninformed part of our people; but those who look into futurity farther than the present moment or age, and who combine well what is, with what is to be, must see that our interests, well understood, and our wishes are, that Spain shall (not forever, but) very long retain her possessions in that quarter; and that her views and ours must, in a good degree, and for a long time, concur. It is said in our gazettes, that the Spaniards have sunk one of our boats on the Mississippi, and that our people retaliated on one of theirs. But my letters not mentioning this fact, has made me hope it is not true, in which hope your letter confirms me. There are now one hundred thousand inhabitants in Kentucky. They have accepted the offer of independence, on

the terms proposed by Virginia, and they have decided that their independent government shall begin on the first day of the next year. In the meantime, they claim admittance into Congress. Georgia has ceded her western territory to the United States, to take place with the commencement of the new federal government. I do not know the boundaries. There has been some dispute of etiquette with the new French minister, which has disgusted him.

The following is a state of the progress and prospects of the new plan of government. * * *

The conduct of Massachusetts has been noble. She accepted the constitution, but voted that it should stand as a perpetual instruction to her Delegates, to endeavor to obtain such and such reformations; and the minority, though very strong both in numbers and abilities, declared *viritim* and *seriatim*, that acknowledging the principle that the majority must give the law, they would now support the new constitution with their tongues, and with their blood, if necessary. I was much pleased with many and essential parts of this instrument, from the beginning. But I thought I saw in it many faults, great and small. What I have read and reflected has brought me over from several of my objections of the first moment, and to acquiesce under some others. Two only remain, of essential consideration, to wit, the want of a bill of rights, and the expunging the principle of necessary rotation in the offices of Pres-

ident and Senator. At first, I wished that when nine States should have accepted the constitution, so as to insure us what is good in it, the other four might hold off till the want of the bill of rights, at least, might be supplied. But I am now convinced that the plan of Massachusetts is the best, that is, to accept, and to amend afterwards. If the States which were to decide after her, should all do the same, it is impossible but they must obtain the essential amendments. It will be more difficult, if we lose this instrument, to recover what is good in it, than to correct what is bad, after we shall have adopted it. It has, therefore, my hearty prayers, and I wait with anxiety for news of the votes of Maryland, South Carolina, and Virginia. There is no doubt that General Washington will accept the presidentship; though he is silent on the subject. He would not be chosen to the Virginia convention. A riot has taken place in New York, which I will state to you from an eye witness. It has long been a practice with the surgeons of that city, to steal from the grave bodies recently buried. A citizen had lost his wife: he went the first or second evening after her burial, to pay a visit to her grave. He found that it had been disturbed, and suspected from what quarter. He found means to be admitted to the anatomical lecture of that day, and on his entering the room, saw the body of his wife, naked and under dissection. He raised the people immediately. The body, in the meantime, was secreted. They entered

into, and searched the houses of the physicians whom they most suspected, but found nothing. One of them, however, more guilty or more timid than the rest, took asylum in the prison. The mob considered this an acknowledgment of guilt. They attacked the prison. The Governor ordered militia to protect the culprit, and suppress the mob. The militia, thinking the mob had just provocation, refused to turn out. Hereupon the people of more reflection, thinking it more dangerous that even a guilty person should be punished without the forms of law, than that he should escape, armed themselves, and went to protect the physician. They were received by the mob with a volley of stones, which wounded several of them. They hereupon fired on the mob, and killed four. By this time, they received a reinforcement of other citizens of the militia horse, the appearance of which, in the critical moment, dispersed the mob. So ended this chapter of history, which I have detailed to you, because it may be represented as a political riot, when politics had nothing to do with it. Mr. Jay and Baron Steuben were both grievously wounded in the head by stones. The former still kept his bed, and the latter his room, when the packet sailed, which was the 24th of April. I am, with sentiments of great esteem and respect, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

(Private.) PARIS, May 27, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—The change which is likely to take place in the form of our government, seems to render it proper that during the existence of the present government, an article should be mentioned which concerns me personally. Uncertain, however, how far Congress may have decided to do business when so near the close of their administration; less capable than those on the spot of foreseeing the character of the new government; and not fully confiding in my own judgment, where it is so liable to be seduced by feeling, I take the liberty of asking your friendly counsel and that of my friend Mr. Madison, and of referring the matter to your judgments and discretion.

Mr. Barclay, when in Europe, was authorized to settle all the European accounts of the United States: he settled those of Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams, and it was intended between us, that he should settle mine. But as what may be done at any time is often put off to the last, this settlement had been made to give way to others, and that of Beaumarchais being pressed on Mr. Barclay before his departure to Morocco, and having long retarded his departure, it was agreed that my affair should await his return from that mission; you know the circumstances which prevented his return to Paris after that mission was finished. My account is, therefore, unsettled, but I

have no anxiety on any article of it, except one, that is, the outfit. This consists of 1, clothes; 2, carriage and horses; 3, household furniture. When Congress made their first appointments of ministers to be resident in Europe, I have understood (for I was not then in Congress) that they allowed them all their expenses, and a fixed sum over and above for their time. Among their expenses, was necessarily understood their outfit. Afterwards, they thought proper to give them fixed salaries of eleven thousand one hundred and eleven dollars and one ninth, a year; and again, by a resolution of May the 6th and 8th, 1784, the "*salaries*" of their ministers at foreign courts were reduced to nine thousand dollars, to take place on the 1st of August ensuing. On the 7th of May, I was appointed, in addition to Mr. Adams and Dr. Franklin, for the negotiation of treaties of commerce; but this appointment being temporary, for two years only, and not as of a resident minister, the article of outfit did not come into question. I asked an advance of six months' salary, that I might be in cash to meet the first expenses; which was ordered. The year following, I was appointed to succeed Dr. Franklin at this court. This was the first appointment of a minister resident, since the original ones, under which all expenses were to be paid. So much of the ancient regulation, as respected *annual expenses* had been altered to a sum certain; so much of it, as respected *first expenses*, or *outfit*, remained unaltered; and I might, there-

fore, expect, that the actual expenses for outfit were to be paid. When I prepared my account for settlement with Mr. Barclay, I began a detail of the articles of clothing, carriage, horses, and household furniture. I found that they were numerous, minute, and incapable, from their nature, of being vouched; and often entered in my memorandum book under a general head only, so that I could not specify them. I found they would exceed a year's salary. Supposing, therefore, that mine being the first case, Congress would make a precedent of it, and prefer a sum fixed for the outfit as well as the salary, I have charged it in my account at a year's salary; presuming there can be no question that an outfit is a reasonable charge. It is the usage here (and I suppose at all courts), that a minister resident, shall establish his house in the first instant. If this is to be done out of his salary, he will be a twelvemonth, at least, without a copper to live on. It is the universal practice, therefore, of all nations, to allow the outfit as a separate article from the salary. I have inquired here into the usual amount of it. I find that, sometimes, the sovereign pays the actual cost. This is particularly the case of the Sardinian Ambassador now coming here, who is to provide a service of plate, and every article of furniture and other matters of first expense, to be paid for by his court. In other instances, they give a service of plate, and a fixed sum for all other articles, which fixed sum is in no case lower than a year's salary.

I desire no service of plate, having no ambition for splendor. My furniture, carriage and apparel, are all plain, yet they have cost me more than a year's salary. I suppose that in every country and in every condition of life, a year's expense would be found a moderate measure for the furniture of a man's house. It is not more certain to me, that the sun will rise to-morrow, than that our government must allow the outfit, on their future appointment of foreign ministers; and it would be hard on me, so to stand between the discontinuance of a former rule, and institution of a future one, as to have the benefit of neither. I know, I have so long known the character of our federal head, in its present form, that I have the most unlimited confidence in the justice of its decisions. I think I am so far known to many of the present Congress, as that I may be cleared of all views of making money out of any public employment, or desiring anything beyond actual and decent expenses, proportioned to the station in which they have been pleased to place me, and to the respect they would wish to see attached to it. It would seem right, that they should decide the claims of those who have acted under their administration, and their pretermission of any article, might amount to a disallowance of it, in the opinion of the new government. It would be painful to me, to meet that government with a claim under this kind of cloud, and to pass it in review before their several Houses of legislation, and boards of administration,

to whom I shall be unknown; and, being for money actually expended, it would be too inconvenient to me to relinquish it in silence. I anxiously ask it, therefore, to be decided on by Congress before they go out of office, if it be not out of the line of proceeding they may have chalked out for themselves. If it be against their inclination to determine it, would it be agreeable to them to refer it to the new government, by some resolution, which should show they have not meant to disallow it, by passing it over? Not knowing the circumstances under which Congress may exist and act at the moment you shall receive this, I am unable to judge what should be done on this subject. It is therefore that I ask the aid of your friendship and that of Mr. Madison, that you will do for me in this regard, what you think it is right should be done, and what it would be right for me to do, were I on the spot, or were I apprised of all existing circumstances. Indeed, were you two to think my claim an improper one, I would wish it to be suppressed, as I have so much confidence in your judgment, that I should suspect my own in any case, where it varied from yours, and more especially, in one where it is liable to be warped by feeling. Give me leave, then, to ask your consultation with Mr. Madison on this subject; and to assure you that whatever you are so good as to do herein, will be perfectly approved, and considered as a great obligation conferred on him, who has the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and attachment, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO COLONEL CARRINGTON.

PARIS, May 27, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—I have received with great pleasure your friendly letter of April 24th. It has come to hand after I had written my letters for the present conveyance, and just in time to add this to them. I learn with great pleasure the progress of the new Constitution. Indeed I have presumed it would gain on the public mind, as I confess it has on my own. At first, though I saw that the great mass and groundwork was good, I disliked many appendages. Reflection and discussion have cleared off most of these. You have satisfied me as to the query I had put to you about the right of direct taxation. My first wish was that nine States would adopt it in order to ensure what was good in it, and that the others might, by holding off, produce the necessary amendments. But the plan of Massachusetts is far preferable, and will, I hope, be followed by those who are yet to decide. There are two amendments only which I am anxious for: 1. A bill of rights, which it is so much the interest of all to have, that I conceive it must be yielded. The 1st amendment proposed by Massachusetts will in some degree answer this end, but not so well. It will do too much in some instances, and too little in others. It will cripple the Federal Government in some cases where it ought to be free, and not restrain in some others where restraint would be right. The 2d

amendment which appears to me essential is the restoring the principle of necessary rotation, particularly to the Senate and Presidency: but most of all to the last. Re-eligibility makes him an officer for life, and the disasters inseparable from an elective monarchy, render it preferable if we cannot tread back that step, that we should go forward and take refuge in an hereditary one. Of the correction of this article, however, I entertain no present hope, because I find it has scarcely excited an objection in America. And if it does not take place erelong, it assuredly never will. The natural progress of things is for liberty to yield and government to gain ground. As yet our spirits are free. Our jealousy is only put to sleep by the unlimited confidence we all repose in the person to whom we all look as our president. After him inferior characters may perhaps succeed, and awaken us to the danger which his merit has led us into. For the present, however, the general adoption is to be prayed for, and I wait with great anxiety for the news from Maryland and South Carolina, which have decided before this, and with that Virginia, now in session, may give the ninth vote of approbation. There could then be no doubt of North Carolina, New York, and New Hampshire. But what do you propose to do with Rhode Island as long as there is hope we should give her time? I cannot conceive but that she will come to rights in the long run. Force, in whatever form, would be a dangerous precedent.

There are rumors that the Austrian army is obliged to retire a little; that the Spanish squadron is gone to South America; that the English have excited a rebellion there; and some others equally unauthenticated. I do not mention them in my letter to Mr. Jay, because they are unauthenticated. The bankruptcies in London have re-commenced with new force. There is no saying where this fire will end, perhaps in the general conflagration of all their paper. If not now, it must erelong. With only twenty millions of coin, and three or four hundred millions of circulating paper, public and private, nothing is necessary but a general panic, produced either by failures, invasion, or any other cause, and the whole visionary fabric vanishes into air, and shows that paper is poverty, that it is only the ghost of money, and not money itself. One hundred years ago, they had twenty odd millions of coin. Since that they have brought in from Holland by borrowing forty millions more, yet they have but twenty millions left, and they talk of being rich, and of having the balance of trade in their favor. Paul Jones is invited into the Empress' service, with the rank of Rear Admiral, and to have a separate command. I wish it corresponded with the views of Congress to give him that rank from the taking of the Serapis. I look to this officer as our great future dependence on the sea, where alone we should think of ever having a force. He is young enough to see the day when we shall be more populous than the whole British domin-

ions, and able to fight them ship to ship. We should procure him, then, every possible opportunity of acquiring experience.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO JAMES MADISON.[1]

PARIS, May 28, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—The enclosed letter for Mr. Jay, being of a private nature, I have thought it better to put it under your cover, lest it might be opened by some of his clerks, in the case of his absence. But I enclose a press copy of it for yourself, as you will perceive the subject of it referred to you, as well as to him. I ask your aid in it so far as you think right, and to have done what you think right. If you will now be so good as to cast your eye over the copy enclosed, what follows the present sentence, will be some details, supplementary to that only, necessary for your information, but not proper for me to state to Mr. Jay.

378,227,1247. though appointed a minister resident at the court of 514. he never was 663. in that character. He was continually passing from 1042. to 514. and 514. to 1042. so that he had no occasion

[1 It will be seen that a few words of this letter are in cypher. It is published, however, as written, because enough of it is literal to interest the reader, to whom also, a specimen of the cypher used by the Author, may not be unacceptable.]

to establish a household at either. Accordingly, he stayed principally in furnished lodgings. Of all our ministers, he had the least occasion for an outfit, and I suppose, spent almost nothing on that article. He was of a disposition, too, to restrain himself within any limits of expense whatever, and it suited his recluse turn, which is, to avoid society. Should he judge of what others should do, by what he did, it would be an improper criterion. He was in Europe as a *voyageur* only, and it was while the salary was five hundred guineas more than at present.

145.1267.1046.7. he came over when, instead of outfit and salary, all expenses were paid. Of rigorous honesty, and careless of appearances, he lived for a considerable time, as an economical private individual. After he was fixed at 812.141. and the salary at a sum certain, he continued his economical style, till out of the difference between his expenses and his salary, he could purchase furniture for his house. This was the easier, as the salary was at two thousand five hundred guineas then. He was obliged too, to be passing between 1042. and 812.141. so as to avoid any regular current of expenses. When he established himself, his pecuniary affairs were under the direction of 964.814.7.101.994. one of the most estimable characters on earth, and the most attentive and honorable economists. Neither had a wish to lay up a copper, but both wished to make both ends meet. I suspected, however, from an expression dropped in conversation, that they were

not able to do this, and that a deficit in their accounts appeared in their winding up. If this conjecture be true, it is a proof that the salary, so far from admitting savings, is unequal to a very plain style of life; for such was theirs. I presume Congress will be asked to allow it, and it is evident to me, from what I saw while in 1093. that it ought to be done, as they did not expend a shilling which should have been avoided. Would it be more eligible to set the example of making good a deficit, or to give him an outfit, which will cover it? The impossibility of living on the sum allowed, respectably, was the true cause of his insisting on his recall.

821.267.1292. He came over while all expenses were paid. He rented a house with standing furniture, such as tables, chairs, presses, etc., and bought all other necessaries. The latter were charged in his account, the former was included in the article of house-rent, and paid during the whole time of his stay here; and as the established rate of hire for furniture, is from thirty to forty per cent. per annum, the standing furniture must have been paid for three times over, during the eight years he stayed here. His salary was two thousand five hundred guineas. When Congress reduced it to less than two thousand, he refused to accede to it, asked his recall, and insisted that whenever they chose to alter the conditions on which he came out, if he did not approve of it, they ought to replace him in America on the old conditions. He lived plainly, but as

decently as his salary would allow. He saved nothing, but avoided debt. He knew he could not do this on the reduced salary, and therefore asked his recall with decision.

To 935.145. succeeded. He had established a certain style of living. The same was expected from 1214. and there were five hundred guineas a year less, to do it on. It has been aimed at, however, as far as was practicable. This rendered it constantly necessary to step neither to the right nor to the left, to incur any expense which could possibly be avoided, and it called for an almost womanly attention to the details of the household, equally perplexing, disgusting, and inconsistent with business. You will be sensible, that in this situation, no savings could be made for reimbursing the half year's salary, ordered to be advanced under the former commission, and more than as much again, which was unavoidably so applied without order, for the purchase of the outfit. The reason of the thing, the usage of all nations, the usage of our own, by paying all expenses of preceding ministers, which gave them the outfit, as far as their circumstances appeared to them to render it necessary, have made me take for granted all along, that it would not be refused to me; nor should I have mentioned it now, but that the administration is passing into other hands, and more complicated forms. It would be disagreeable to me, to be presented to them in the first instance, as a suitor. Men come into business

at first, with visionary principles. It is practice alone, which can correct and conform them to the actual current of affairs. In the meantime, those to whom their errors were first applied, have been their victims. The government may take up the project of appointing foreign ministers without outfits, and they may ruin two or three individuals, before they find that that article is just as indispensable as the salary. They must then fall into the current of general usage, which has become general, only because experience has established its necessity. Upon the whole, be so good as to reflect on it, and to do, not what your friendship to me, but your opinion of what is right shall dictate. Accept, in all cases, assurances of the sincere esteem and respect with which I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO PETER CARR.

PARIS, May 28, 1788.

DEAR PETER,—The preceding letter[1] was written at its date, and I supposed you in possession of it, when your letters of December the 10th, 1787, and March the 18th, 1788, told me otherwise. Still, I supposed it on its way to you, when a few days ago, having occasion to look among some papers in the drawer, where my letters are usually put away, till an opportunity of sending them occurs, I found that this letter had slipped among them, so that it had

[1 For the letter referred to, see ante, vol. VI. p. 256.]

never been forwarded. I am sorry for it, on account of the remarks relative to the Spanish language only. Apply to that, with all the assiduity you can. That language and the English covering nearly the whole face of America, they should be well known to every inhabitant, who means to look beyond the limits of his farm. I like well the distribution of your time, mentioned in your letter of March the 18th; and the counsels of Mr. Wythe, so kindly extended to you, leave it necessary for me to add nothing of that kind. Be assiduous in learning, take much exercise for your health, and practice much virtue. Health, learning and virtue, will insure your happiness; they will give you a quiet conscience, private esteem and public honor. Beyond these, we want nothing but physical necessaries, and they are easily obtained. My daughters are well, and join me in love to yourself, your mother, brothers and sisters. I am, with very sincere esteem, dear Peter, your affectionate friend.

TO THE COMTE DE BERNSTORFF.

PARIS, June 19, 1788.

I had the honor of addressing your Excellency, by Admiral Paul Jones, on the 21st of January, on the subject of the prizes taken under his command during the late war, and sent into Bergen. I communicated, at the same time, a copy of the powers which the Congress of the United States of America

had been pleased to confide to me therein, having previously shown the original to the Baron Blome, envoy extraordinary of his Majesty, the King of Denmark, at this court; and I furnished, at the same time, to Admiral Paul Jones, such authority as I was empowered to delegate, for the arrangement of this affair. That officer has transmitted me a copy of your Excellency's letter to him, of the 4th of April, wherein you are pleased to observe, that the want of full powers on his part was an invincible obstacle to the definitive discussion of this claim with him, and to express your dispositions to institute a settlement at this place. Always assured of the justice and honor of the court of Denmark, and encouraged by the particular readiness of your Excellency to settle and remove this difficulty from between the two nations, I take the liberty of recalling your attention to it. The place of negotiation proposed by your Excellency, meets no objection from us, and it removes, at the same time, that which the want of full powers in Admiral Paul Jones, had produced in your mind. These full powers, Congress have been pleased to honor me with. The arrangement taken between the person to be charged with your full powers, and myself, will be final and conclusive. You are pleased to express a willingness to treat at the same time, on the subjects of amity and commerce. The powers formerly communicated on our part, were given to Mr. Adams, Dr. Franklin, and myself, for a limited term only. That

term has expired, and the other two gentlemen returned to America; so that no person is commissioned at this moment, to renew those conferences. I may safely, however, assure your Excellency, that the same friendly dispositions still continue, and the same desire of facilitating and encouraging a commerce between the two nations, which produced the former appointment. But our nation is, at this time, proposing a change in the organization of its government. For this change to be agreed to by all the members of the Union, the new administration chosen and brought into activity, their domestic matters arranged, which will require their first attention, their foreign system afterwards decided on and carried into full execution, will require very considerable length of time. To place under the same delay, the private claims which I have the honor to present to your Excellency, would be hard on the persons interested; because these claims have no connection with the system of commercial connection, which may be established between the two nations, nor with the particular form of our administration. The justice due to them is complete, and the present administration as competent to final settlement as any future one will be, should a future change take place. These individuals have already lingered nine years, in expectation of their hard and perilous earnings. Time lessens their numbers continually, disperses their representatives, weakens the evidence of their right, and renders more and

more impracticable, his majesty's dispositions to repair the private injury, to which public circumstances constrained him. These considerations, the just and honorable intentions of your Excellency, and the assurances you give us in your letter, that no delay is wished on your part, give me strong hopes that we may speedily obtain that final arrangement, which express instructions render it my duty to urge. I have the honor, therefore, of agreeing with your Excellency, that the settlement of this matter, formerly begun at Paris, shall be continued there; and to ask that you will be pleased to give powers and instructions for this purpose, to such persons as you shall think proper, and in such full form as may prevent those delays, to which the distance between Copenhagen and Paris might otherwise expose us.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most profound respect, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO MR. THOMAS DIGGES.

PARIS, June 19, 1788.

SIR,—I have duly received your favor of May 12, as well as that of the person who desires information on the state of cotton manufactures in America, and for his interest and safety I beg leave to address to you the answer to his queries.

In general, it is impossible that manufactures should succeed in America, from the high price of

labor. This is occasioned by the great demand of labor for agriculture. A manufacturer going from Europe will turn to labor of other kinds if he finds more to be got by it, and he finds some employment so profitable, that he can soon lay up money enough to buy fifty acres of land, to the culture of which he is irresistibly tempted by the independence in which that places him, and the desire of having a wife and family around him. If any manufactures can succeed there, it will be that of cotton. I must observe for his information that this plant grows nowhere in the United States northward of the Potomac, and not in quantity till you get southward as far as York and James Rivers. I know nothing of the manufacture which is said to be set up at Richmond. It must have taken place since 1783, when I left Virginia. In that State (for it is the only one I am enabled to speak of with certainty) there is no manufacture of wire or of cotton cards; or if any, it is not worth notice. No manufacture of stocking-weaving, consequently none for making the machine; none of cotton clothing of any kind whatever for sale; though in almost every family some is manufactured for the use of the family, which is always good in quality, and often tolerably fine. In the same way they make excellent stockings of cotton, weaving it in like manner, carried on principally in the family way: among the poor, the wife weaves generally; and the rich either have a weaver among their servants or employ their poor neighbors. Cotton cost in Virginia

from 12*d.* to 18*d.* sterling the pound before the war, probably it is a little raised since. Richmond is as good a place for a manufactory as any in that State, and perhaps the best as to its resources for this business. Cotton clothing is very much the taste of the country. A manufacturer, on his landing, should apply to the well-informed farmers and gentlemen of the country. Their information will be more disinterested than that of merchants, and they can better put him into the way of disposing of his workmen in the cheapest manner till he has time to look about him and decide how and where he will establish himself. Such is the hospitality in that country, and their disposition to assist strangers, that he may boldly go to any good house he sees, and make the inquiry he needs. He will be sure to be kindly received, honestly informed, and accommodated in an hospitable way, without any other introduction than an information who he is and what are his views. It is not the policy of the government in that country to give any aid to works of any kind. They let things take their natural course without help or impediment, which is generally the best policy. More particularly as to myself, I must say that I have not the authority nor the means of assisting any persons in their passage to that country. I have the honor to be, with sentiments of perfect esteem, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO MR. RUTLEDGE.

PARIS, January 19, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—Having omitted to ask you how I should address letters to you, I am obliged to put the present under cover to Mr. Shippen, to the care of his banker at Amsterdam. Enclosed you will receive a letter lately come to my hands, as also such notes as I have been able to scribble very hastily and undigested. I am ashamed of them; but I will pay willingly that price, if they may, on a single occasion, be useful to you. I will at some future moment find time to write the letters for Frankfort, Florence, Milan, Nice and Marseilles, which those notes will point out, and lodge them on your route, if you will be so good as to keep me always informed how and where I must send letters to you. I would suggest an alteration in the route I had proposed to you; that is, to descend the Danube from Vienna, so as to go to Constantinople, and from thence to Naples and up Italy. This must depend on your time, and the information you may be able to get as to the safety with which you may pass through the Ottoman territories. It is believed the Emperor is making overtures for peace. Should this take place it would lessen the difficulties of such a tour. In the meantime, this gleam of peace is counterbalanced by the warlike preparations of Sweden and Denmark, known to be made under the suggestions of the Court of London. In this country there is great internal

ferment. I am of opinion the new regulations will be maintained. Perhaps the Cour plénière may be amended in its composition, and the States General called at an earlier period than was intended. We have no accounts yet of the decision of Maryland, South Carolina, or Virginia on the subject of the new Constitution. Yet it seems probable they will accept it in the same manner Massachusetts has done; and I see nothing improbable in the supposition that our new government may be in motion by the beginning of November. I must press on you, my dear Sir, a very particular attention to the climate and culture of the olive tree. This is the most interesting plant in existence for South Carolina and Georgia. You will see in various places that it gives being to whole villages in places where there is not soil enough to subsist a family by the means of any other culture. But consider it as the means of bettering the condition of your slaves in South Carolina. See in the poorer parts of France and Italy what a number of vegetables are rendered eatable by the aid of a little oil, which would otherwise be useless. Remark very particularly the northern limits of this tree, and whether it exists by the help of shelter from the mountains, etc. I know this is the case in France. I wish to know where the northern limit of this plant crosses the Apennines; where it crosses the Adriatic and the Archipelago, and if possible what course it takes through Asia. The fig, the dried raisin, the pistache, the date, the caper, are all very interesting

objects for your study. Should you not in your passage through countries where they are cultivated inform yourself of their hardiness, their culture, the manner of transporting, etc., you might hereafter much repent it. Both then and now I hope you will excuse me for suggesting them to your attention; not omitting the article of rice also, of which you will see species different from your own. I beg you to make use of me on all possible occasions and in all the ways in which I can serve you, not omitting that of money, should any disappointment take place in your own arrangements. Mr. Berard's money was paid to Bayoker & Co. as you desired. I have the honor to be, with very great esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO T. LEE SHIPPEN, ESQ.

PARIS, June 19, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—I have been honored with your favor of May 20, and take the first possible moment of acknowledging it, and of enclosing such notes as my recollection has suggested to me might be of service to you on your route. They have been scribbled so hastily and so informally that I would not send them, did not a desire of accommodating yourself and Mr. Rutledge get the better of my self-love. You will have seen in the Leyden gazette the principal articles of intelligence received from America since you left us, and which I have furnished to Mr. Dumas for that

paper. The account of the riot in New York was given me by Mr. Paradise, who was there at the time, and who with his lady is now here. You may, perhaps, meet them at Venice. Mr. Jay and Baron Steuben were wounded with stones in that riot. General Washington writes me word he thinks Virginia will accept of the new Constitution. It appears to me, in fact, from all information, that its rejection would drive the States to despair and bring on events which cannot be foreseen; and that its adoption is become absolutely necessary. It will be easier to get the assent of nine States to correct what is wrong in the way pointed out by the Constitution itself, than to get thirteen to concur in a new convention and another plan of confederation. I therefore sincerely pray that the remaining States may accept it, as Massachusetts has done, with standing instructions to their delegates to press for amendments till they are obtained. They cannot fail of being obtained when the delegates of eight States shall be under such perpetual instructions. The American newspapers say that the Spaniards have sunk one of our boats on the Mississippi, and we one of theirs, by way of reprisal. The silence of my letters on the subject makes me hope it is not true. Be so good as to keep me constantly furnished with your address. I will take the first moment I can to write letters for you to Baron Leimer for Frankfort, Febroni at Florence, the Count del Verme and Clerici at Milan, Sasserns at Nice, Cathalan at Marseilles, which at this

time it is impossible for me to do. I beg you to make on all occasions all the use of me of which I am susceptible, and in any way in which your occasions may require, and to be assured of the sentiments of sincere esteem and attachment with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO THE COUNT DE MONTMORIN.

PARIS, June 20, 1788.

SIR,—Having had the honor of mentioning to your Excellency the wish of Congress that certain changes should be made in the articles for a consular convention, which had been sent to them, I have now that, conformably to the desire you expressed, of giving a general idea of the alterations to be proposed.

The fourth article gives to the consuls the immunities of the law of nations. It has been understood, however, that the laws of France do not admit of this; and that it might be desirable to expunge this article. In this we are ready to concur, as in every other case where an article might call for changes in the established laws, either inconvenient or disagreeable.

After establishing in favor of consuls, the general immunities of the law of nations, one consequence of which would have been, that they could not have been called upon to give testimony in courts of justice, the fifth article requires that after the observ-

ance of certain formalities, which imply very high respect, they shall make a declaration; but *in their own houses* [chez eux] as may be pretended, if not justly inferred, from the expressions in the articles. But our laws require, indispensably, a personal examination of witnesses in the presence of the parties, of their counsel, the jury and judges, each of whom has a right to ask of them all questions pertinent to the fact. The first and highest officers of our government are obliged to appear personally to the order of a court to give evidence. The court takes care that they are treated with respect. It is proposed, therefore, to omit this article for these particular reasons, as well as for the general one, that the fourth being expunged, this, which was but an exception to that, falls of course.

The seventh, eighth, tenth and fourteenth articles extend their pre-eminences far beyond those which the laws of nations would have given. These articles require that the declarations made in the presence of consuls, and certified by them, shall be received in evidence in all courts whatever; and in some instances give to their certificates a credibility which excludes all other testimony. The cases are rare in which our laws admit written evidence of facts; and such evidence, when admitted, must have been given in the presence of both parties, and must contain the answers to all the pertinent questions which they may have desired to ask of the witness; and to no evidence, of whatever nature, written or oral, do our

laws give so high credit, as to exclude all counter-proof. These principles are of such ancient foundation in our system of jurisprudence, and are so much valued and venerated by our citizens, that perhaps it would be impossible to execute articles which should contravene them, nor is it imagined that these stipulations can be so interesting to this country, as to balance the inconvenience and hazard of such an innovation with us. Perhaps it might be found, that the laws of both countries require a modification of this article; as it is inconceivable that the certificate of an American consul in France could be permitted by one of its courts to establish a fact, the falsehood of which should be notorious to the court itself.

The eighth article gives to the consuls of either nation a jurisdiction, in certain cases, over foreigners of any other. On a dispute arising in France, between an American and a Spaniard or an Englishman, it would not be fair to abandon the Spaniard or Englishman to an American consul. On the contrary, the territorial judge, as neutral, would seem to be the most impartial. Probably, therefore, it will be thought convenient for both parties to correct this stipulation.

A dispute arising between two subjects of France, the one being in France, and the other in the United States, the regular tribunals of France would seem entitled to a preference of jurisdiction. Yet the twelfth article gives it to their consul in America;

and to the consul of the United States in France, in a like case between their citizens.

The power given by the tenth article, of arresting and sending back a vessel, its captain, and crew, is a very great one indeed, and, in our opinion, more safely lodged with the territorial judge. We would ourselves trust the tribunals of France to decide when there is just cause for so high-handed an act of authority over the persons and property of so many of our citizens, to all of whom these tribunals will stand in a neutral and impartial relation, rather than any single person whom we may appoint as consul, who will seldom be learned in the laws, and often susceptible of influence from private interest and personal pique. With us, applications for the arrest of vessels, and of their masters, are made to the admiralty courts. These are composed of the most learned and virtuous characters of the several States, and the maritime law common to all nations, is the rule of their proceedings. The exercise of foreign jurisdiction, within the pale of their own laws, in a very high case, and wherein those laws have made honorable provisions, would be a phenomenon never yet seen in our country, and which would be seen with great jealousy and uneasiness. On the contrary, to leave this power with the territorial judge, will inspire confidence and friendship, and be really, at the same time, more secure against abuse. The power of arresting deserted seamen seems necessary for the purposes of navigation and

commerce, and will be more attentively and effectually exercised by the consul, than by the territorial judge. To this part of the tenth article, therefore, as well as to that which requires the territorial judge to assist the consul in the exercise of this function, we can accede. But the extension of the like power to passengers, seems not necessary for the purposes either of navigation or commerce. It does not come, therefore, within the functions of the consul, whose institution is for those two objects only, nor within the powers of a commissioner, authorized to treat and conclude a convention, solely for regulating the powers, privileges, and duties of consuls. The arrest and detention of passengers, moreover, would often be in contradiction to our bills of rights, which being fundamental, cannot be obstructed in their operation by any law or convention whatever.

Consular institutions being entirely new with us, Congress think it wise to make their first convention probationary, and not perpetual. They propose, therefore, a clause for limiting its duration to a certain term of years. If after the experience of a few years, it should be found to answer the purposes intended by it, both parties will have sufficient inducements to renew it, either in its present form, or with such alterations and amendments as time, experience, and other circumstances may indicate.

The convention, as expressed in the French language, will fully answer our purposes in France,

because it will there be understood. But it will not equally answer the purposes of France in America, because it will not there be understood. In very few of the courts wherein it may be presented, will there be found a single judge or advocate capable of translating it at all, much less of giving to all its terms, legal and technical, their exact equivalent in the laws and language of that country. Should any translation which Congress would undertake to publish, for the use of our courts, be conceived on any occasion not to render fully the idea of the French original, it might be imputed as an indirect attempt to abridge or extend the terms of a contract, at the will of one party only. At no place are there better helps than here, for establishing an English text equivalent to the French, in all its phrases; no person can be supposed to know what is meant by these phrases better than those who form them; and no time more proper to ascertain their meaning in both languages, than that at which they are formed. I have, therefore, the honor to propose, that the convention shall be faithfully expressed in English as well as in French, in two columns, side by side, that these columns be declared each of them to be text, and to be equally original and authentic in all courts of justice.

This, Sir, is a general sketch of the alterations which our laws and our manner of thinking render necessary in this convention, before the faith of our country is engaged for its execution. Some of its

articles, in their present form, could not be executed at all, and others would produce embarrassments and ill humor, to which it would not be prudent for our government to commit itself. Inexact execution on the one part, would naturally beget dissatisfaction and complaints on the other, and an instrument intended to strengthen our connection, might thus become the means of loosening it. Fewer articles, better observed, will better promote our common interests. As to ourselves, we do not find the institution of consuls very necessary. Its history commences in times of barbarism, and might well have ended with them. During these, they were perhaps useful, and may still be so, in countries, not yet emerged from that condition. But all civilized nations at this day, understand so well the advantages of commerce, that they provide protection and encouragement for merchant strangers and vessels coming among them. So extensive, too, have commercial connections now become, that every mercantile house has correspondents in almost every port. They address their vessels to these correspondents, who are found to take better care of their interests, and to obtain more effectually the protection of the laws of the country for them, than the consul of their nation can. He is generally a foreigner, unpossessed of the little details of knowledge of greatest use to them. He makes national questions of all the difficulties which arise; the correspondent prevents them. We carry on commerce

with good success in all parts of the world; yet we have not a consul in a single port, nor a complaint for the want of one, except from the persons who wish to be consuls themselves. Though these considerations may not be strong enough to establish the absolute inutility of consuls, they may make us less anxious to extend their privileges and jurisdictions, so as to render them objects of jealousy and irritation in the places of their residence. That this government thinks them useful, is sufficient reason for us to give them all the functions and facilities which our circumstances will admit. Instead, therefore, of declining every article which will be useless to us, we accede to every one which will not be inconvenient. Had this nation been alone concerned, our desire to gratify them, might have tempted us to press still harder on the laws and opinions of our country. But your Excellency knows, that we stand engaged in treaties with some nations, which will give them occasion to claim whatever privileges we yield to any other. This renders circumspection more necessary. Permit me to add one other observation. The English allow to foreign consuls scarcely any functions within their ports. This proceeds, in a great measure, from the character of their laws, which eye with peculiar jealousy every exemption from their control. Ours are the same in their general character, and rendered still more unpliant, by our having thirteen parliaments to relax, instead of one. Upon the

whole, I hope your Excellency will see the causes of the delay which this convention has met with, in the difficulties it presents, and our desire to surmount them; and will be sensible that the alterations proposed, are dictated to us by the necessity of our circumstances, and by a caution, which cannot be disapproved, to commit ourselves to no engagements which we foresee we might not be able to fulfil.

These alterations, with some other smaller ones, which may be offered on the sole principle of joint convenience, shall be the subject of more particular explanation, whenever your Excellency shall honor me with a conference thereon. I shall then also point out the verbal changes which appear to me necessary, to accommodate the instrument to the views before expressed. In the meantime, I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect respect and esteem, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO —— ——.

PARIS, June 28, 1788.

SIR,— * * * * * * * *

A treaty of alliance between England and Prussia was signed on the 13th instant. Sweden is believed to have given out a declaration of the reasons of her arming, which has very much the air of a declaration of war against Russia. We have not yet seen it here. It would not be unexpected to hear that she has

commenced hostilities. She is subsidized by England, and if she does begin a war, we must believe it to be on the instigation of England, with a view to bring on a general war. This power, with Denmark and Holland, ranging themselves on the side of England, destroys the equilibrium of power at sea, which we had hoped was established. I am, with great esteem, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO CAPTAIN DIRCKS.

PARIS, July 2, 1788.

SIR,—As a private individual and citizen of America, I can with propriety and truth deliver it to you as my firm belief, that the loan office certificate you showed me, and all others of the same kind, will be paid, principal and interest, as soon as the circumstances of the United States will permit: that I do not consider this as a distant epoch, nor suppose there is a public debt on earth less doubtful. This I speak as my private opinion. But it does not belong to me to say that it will be paid in two years, or that it will be paid at all, so as by the authority of my affirmation to give it any new sanction or credit. The board of treasury or Congress can alone do this. You will be sensible, therefore, Sir, of the impropriety, and even the hazard, of my going out of the line of my office so far as to undertake, or to aver, that these certificates will be paid within one or two years. On every occasion where I can do it of right, I

shall be happy to render you every possible service, being with sentiments of the most perfect esteem, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO T. L. SHIPPEN, ESQ.

PARIS, July 13, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—In a former letter to Mr. Rutledge, I suggested to him the idea of extending his tour to Constantinople, and in one of to-day, I mention it again. I do not know how far that extension may accord with your plan, nor indeed how far it may be safe for either of you; for, though it has been thought there has been a relaxation in the warlike dispositions of the belligerent powers, yet we have no symptoms of a suspension of hostilities. The Ottoman dominions are generally represented as unsafe for travellers, even when in peace. They must be much more so during war. This article, therefore, merits exact inquiry before that journey is undertaken.

We have letters from America to June 11. Maryland has acceded to the Constitution by a vote of 63 to 11, and South Carolina by 149 to 72. Mr. Henry had disseminated propositions there for a Southern confederacy. It is now thought that Virginia will not hesitate to accede. Governor Randolph has come over to the Federalists. No doubt is entertained of New Hampshire and North Carolina, and it is thought that even New York will agree when

she sees she will be left with Rhode Island alone. Two-thirds of their Convention are decidedly anti-federal. The die is now thrown, and it cannot be many days before we know what has finally turned up. Congress has granted the prayer of Kentucky to be made independent, and a committee was occupied in preparing an act for that purpose. Mr. Barlow, the American poet, is arrived in Paris.

We expect daily to hear that the Swedes have commenced hostilities. Whether this will draw in the other nations of Europe immediately, cannot be foreseen; probably it will in the long run. I sincerely wish this country may be able previously to arrange its internal affairs. To spare the trouble of repetition, I am obliged to ask of yourself and Mr. Rutledge, to consider the letter of each as a supplement to the other. Under the possibility, however, of your going different routes, I enclose duplicates of my letters of introduction. After acknowledging the receipt of your favor of the 6th inst., from Spa, I shall only beg a continuance of them, and that you will both keep me constantly informed how to convey letters to you: and to assure you of those sentiments of sincere esteem with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO DOCTOR GORDON.

PARIS, July 16, 1788.

SIR,—In your favor of the 8th instant, you mentioned that you had written to me in February last. This letter never came to hand. That of April the 24th, came here during my absence on a journey through Holland and Germany; and my having been obliged to devote the first moments after my return, to some very pressing matters, must be my apology for not having been able to write to you till now. As soon as I knew that it would be agreeable to you, to have such a disposal of your work for translation, as I had made for Dr. Ramsay, I applied to the same bookseller with propositions on your behalf. He told me, that he had lost so much by that work, that he could hardly think of undertaking another, and at any rate, not without first seeing and examining it. As he was the only bookseller I could induce to give anything on the former occasion, I went to no other with my proposal, meaning to ask you to send me immediately as much of the work as is printed. This you can do by the Diligence, which comes three times a week from London to Paris. Furnished with this, I will renew my proposition, and do the best for you I can; though I fear that the ill success of the translation of Dr. Ramsay's work, and of another work on the subject of America, will permit less to be done for you than I had hoped. I think Dr. Ramsay failed from the inelegance of the translation, and the

translator's having departed entirely from the Doctor's instructions. I will be obliged to you, to set me down as a subscriber for half a dozen copies, and to ask Mr. Trumbull (No. 2, North street, Rathbone Place) to pay you the whole subscription price for me, which he will do on showing him this letter. These copies can be sent by the Diligence. I have not yet received the pictures Mr. Trumbull was to send me, nor consequently that of M. de La Fayette. I will take care of it when it arrives. His title is simply, *le Marquis de La Fayette.*

You ask, in your letter of April the 24th, details of my sufferings by Colonel Tarleton. I did not suffer by him. On the contrary, he behaved very genteelly with me. On his approach to Charlottesville, which is within three miles of my house at Monticello, he despatched a troop of his horse, under Captain McLeod, with the double object of taking me prisoner, with the two Speakers of the Senate and Delegates, who then lodged with me, and of remaining there in *vidette*, my house commanding a view of ten or twelve miles round about. He gave strict orders to Captain McLeod to suffer nothing to be injured. The troop failed in one of their objects, as we had notice of their coming, so that the two Speakers had gone off about two hours before their arrival at Monticello, and myself, with my family, about five minutes. But Captain McLeod preserved everything with sacred care, during about eighteen hours that he remained there. Colonel Tarleton

was just so long at Charlottesville, being hurried from thence by the news of the rising of the militia, and by a sudden fall of rain, which threatened to swell the river, and intercept his return. In general, he did little injury to the inhabitants, on that short and hasty excursion, which was of about sixty miles from their main army, then in Spottsylvania, and ours in Orange. It was early in June, 1781. Lord Cornwallis then proceeded to the Point of Fork, and encamped his army from thence all along the main James River, to a seat of mine called Elk-hill, opposite to Elk Island, and a little below the mouth of the Byrd Creek. (You will see all these places exactly laid down in the map annexed to my notes on Virginia, printed by Stockdale.) He remained in this position ten days, his own head quarters being in my house, at that place. I had time to remove most of the effects out of the house. He destroyed all my growing crops of corn and tobacco; he burned all my barns, containing the same articles of the last year, having first taken what corn he wanted; he used, as was to be expected, all my stock of cattle, sheep and hogs, for the sustenance of his army, and carried off all the horses capable of service; of those too young for service he cut the throats; and he burned all the fences on the plantation, so as to leave it an absolute waste. He carried off also about thirty slaves. Had this been to give them freedom, he would have done right; but it was to consign them to inevitable death from the small pox and

putrid fever, then raging in his camp. This I knew afterwards to be the fate of twenty-seven of them. I never had news of the remaining three, but presume they shared the same fate. When I say that Lord Cornwallis did all this, I do not mean that he carried about the torch in his own hands, but that it was all done under his eye; the situation of the house in which he was, commanding a view of every part of the plantation, so that he must have seen every fire. I relate these things on my own knowledge, in a great degree, as I was on the ground soon after he left it. He treated the rest of the neighborhood somewhat in the same style, but not with that spirit of total extermination with which he seemed to rage over my possessions. Wherever he went, the dwelling houses were plundered of everything which could be carried off. Lord Cornwallis' character in England, would forbid the belief that he shared in the plunder; but that his table was served with the plate thus pillaged from private houses, can be proved by many hundred eye-witnesses. From an estimate I made at that time, on the best information I could collect, I supposed the State of Virginia lost, under Lord Cornwallis' hands, that year, about thirty thousand slaves; and that of these, about twenty-seven thousand died of the small pox and camp fever, and the rest were partly sent to the West Indies, and exchanged for rum, sugar, coffee and fruit, and partly sent to New York, from whence they went, at the peace, either to Nova Scotia or

England. From this last place, I believe they have been lately sent to Africa. History will never relate the horrors committed by the British army in the *southern* States of America. They raged in Virginia six months only, from the middle of April to the middle of October, 1781, when they were all taken prisoners; and I give you a faithful specimen of their transactions for ten days of that time, and on one spot only. *Ex pede Herculem.* I suppose their whole devastations during those six months, amounted to about three millions sterling. The copiousness of this subject has only left me space to assure you of the sentiments of esteem and respect, with which I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO MR. IZARD.

PARIS, July 17, 1788.

DEAR SIR, * * * * * * *

I cannot but approve your idea of sending your eldest son, destined for the law, to Williamsburg. The professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy there, (Mr. Madison, cousin of him whom you know,) is a man of great abilities, and their apparatus is a very fine one. Mr. Ballini, professor of Modern Language, is also an excellent one. But the pride of the Institution is Mr. Wythe, one of the Chancellors of the State, and professor of law in the College. He is one of the greatest men of the age, hav-

ing held without competition the first place at the bar of our general court for twenty-five years, and always distinguished by the most spotless virtue. He gives lectures regularly, and holds moot courts and parliaments wherein he presides, and the young men debate regularly in law and legislation, learn the rules of parliamentary proceeding, and acquire the habit of public speaking. Williamsburg is a remarkably healthy situation, reasonably cheap, and affords very genteel society. I know no place *in the world*, while the *present professors remain*, where I would so soon place a son.

I have made the necessary inquiries relative to a school for your second son. There are only two here for the line of engineering. I send the prospectus of the best, which is so particular in its details as to enable you to judge for yourself on every point. I will add some observations. I have never thought a boy should undertake abstruse or difficult sciences, such as Mathematics in general, till fifteen years of age at soonest. Before that time they are best employed in learning the languages which is merely a matter of memory. The languages are badly taught here. If you propose he should learn the Latin, perhaps you will prefer the having him taught it in America, and of course, to retain him there two or three years more. At that age, he will be less liable to lose his native language, and be more able to resist the attempts to change his religion. Probably three or four years here would suffice for the theory of engi-

neering, which would leave him still time enough to see something of the practice either by land or sea, as he should choose, and to return home at a ripe age. Decide on all these points as you think best, and make what use of me in it you please. Whenever you choose to send him, if I am here, and you think proper to accept my services towards him, they shall be bestowed with the same zeal as if he were my own son.

The war in Europe threatens to spread. Sweden, we suppose, has commenced hostilities against Russia, though we do not yet certainly know it. I have hoped this country would settle her internal disputes advantageously and without bloodshed. As yet none has been spilt, though the British newspapers give the idea of a general civil war. Hitherto, I had supposed both the King and parliament would lose authority, and the nation gain it, through the medium of its States General and provincial Assemblies, but the arrest of the deputies of Bretagne two days ago, may kindle a civil war. Its issue will depend on two questions. 1. Will other provinces rise? 2. How will the army conduct itself? A stranger cannot predetermine these questions. Happy for us that abuses have not yet become patrimonies, and that every description of interest is in favor of national and moderate government. That we are yet able to send our wise and good men together to talk over our form of government, discuss its weaknesses and establish its reme-

dies with the same *sang-froid* as they would a subject of agriculture. The example we have given to the world is single, that of changing our form of government under the authority of reason only, without bloodshed.

I enclose herein a letter from Count Sarsfield to Mrs. Izard, to whom I beg to present my respects. I am, with great sincerity, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO JAMES MADISON, OF WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE.

PARIS, July 19, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—My last letter to you was of the 13th of August last. As you seem willing to accept of the crumbs of science on which we are subsisting here, it is with pleasure I continue to hand them on to you, in proportion as they are dealt out. Herschel's volcano in the moon you have doubtless heard of, and placed among the other vagaries of a head, which seems not organized for sound induction. The wildness of the theories hitherto proposed by him, on his own discoveries, seems to authorize us to consider his merit as that of a good optician only. You know also, that Dr. Ingenhouse had discovered, as he supposed, from experiment, that vegetation might be promoted by occasioning streams of the electrical fluid to pass through a plant, and that other physicians had received and confirmed this theory. He now, however, retracts it, and finds by

more decisive experiments, that the electrical fluid can neither forward nor retard vegetation. Uncorrected still of the rage of drawing general conclusions from partial and equivocal observations, he hazards the opinion that *light* promotes vegetation. I have heretofore supposed from observation, that light effects the color of living bodies, whether vegetable or animal; but that either the one or the other receives *nutriment* from that fluid, must be permitted to be doubted of, till better confirmed by observation. It is always better to have no ideas, than false ones; to believe nothing, than to believe what is wrong. In my mind, theories are more easily demolished than rebuilt.

An Abbé here has shaken, if not destroyed, the theory of de Dominis, Descartes and Newton, for explaining the phenomenon of the rainbow. According to that theory, you know, a cone of rays issuing from the sun, and falling on a cloud in the opposite part of the heavens, is reflected back in the form of a smaller cone, the apex of which is the eye of the observer; so that the eye of the observer must be in the axis of both cones, and equally distant from every part of the bow. But he observes, that he has repeatedly seen bows, the one end of which has been very near to him, and the other at a very great distance. I have often seen the same thing myself. I recollect well to have seen the end of a rainbow between myself and a house, or between myself and a bank, not twenty yards distant; and

this repeatedly. But I never saw, what he says he has seen, different rainbows at the same time intersecting each other. I never saw coexistent bows, which were not concentric also. Again, according to the theory, if the sun is in the horizon, the horizon intercepts the lower half of the bow, if above the horizon, that intercepts more than the half, in proportion. So that generally, the bow is less than a semi-circle, and never more. He says he has seen it more than a semi-circle. I have often seen the leg of the bow below my level. My situation at Monticello admits this, because there is a mountain there in the opposite direction of the afternoon's sun, the valley between which and Monticello, is five hundred feet deep. I have seen a leg of a rainbow plunge down on the river running through the valley. But I do not recollect to have remarked at any time, that the bow was more than half a circle. It appears to me, that these facts demolish the Newtonian hypothesis, but they do not support that erected in its stead by the Abbé. He supposes a cloud between the sun and the observer, and that through some opening in that cloud, the rays pass, and form an iris on the opposite part of the heavens, just as a ray passing through a hole in the shutter of a darkened room, and falling on a prism there, forms the prismatic colors on the opposite wall. According to to this, we might see bows of more than the half circle, as often as of less. A thousand other objections occur to this hypothesis, which need not be

suggested to you. The result is, that we are wiser than we were, by having an error the less in our catalogue; but the blank occasioned by it, must remain for some happier hypothesist to fill up

The dispute about the conversion and re-conversion of water and air, is still stoutly kept up. The contradictory experiments of chemists, leave us at liberty to conclude what we please. My conclusion is, that art has not yet invented sufficient aids, to enable such subtle bodies to make a well-defined impression on organs as blunt as ours; that it is laudable to encourage investigation, but to hold back conclusion. Speaking one day with Monsieur de Buffon, on the present ardor of chemical inquiry, he affected to consider chemistry but as cookery, and to place the toils of the laboratory on a footing with those of the kitchen. I think it, on the contrary, among the most useful of sciences, and big with future discoveries for the utility and safety of the human race. It is yet, indeed, a mere embryon. Its principles are contested; experiments seem contradictory; their subjects are so minute as to escape our senses; and their result too fallacious to satisfy the mind. It is probably an age too soon, to propose the establishment of a system. The attempt, therefore, of Lavoisier to reform the chemical nomenclature, is premature. One single experiment may destroy the whole filiation of his terms, and his string of sulphates, sulphites, and sulphures, may have served no other end, than to have retarded the

progress of the science, by a jargon, from the confusion of which, time will be requisite to extricate us. Accordingly, it is not likely to be admitted generally.

You are acquainted with the properties of the composition of nitre, salt of tartar and sulphur, called pulvis fulminans. Of this, the explosion is produced by heat alone. Monsieur Bertholet, by dissolving silver in the nitrous acid, precipitating it with lime water, and drying the precipitate on ammoniac, has discovered a powder which fulminates most powerfully, on coming into contact with any substance however. Once made, it cannot be touched. It cannot be put into a bottle, but must remain in the capsule, where dried. The property of the spathic acid, to corrode flinty substances, has been lately applied by a Mr. Puymaurin, to engrave on glass, as artists engrave on copper, with aquafortis. M. de La Place has discovered, that the secular acceleration and retardation of the moon's motion, is occasioned by the action of the sun, in proportion as his eccentricity changes, or, in other words, as the orbit of the earth increases or diminishes. So that this irregularity is now perfectly calculable.

Having seen announced in a gazette, that some person had found in a library of Sicily, an Arabic translation of Livy, which was thought to be complete, I got the chargé des affaires of Naples here, to write to Naples to inquire into the fact. He ob-

tained in answer, that an Arabic translation was found, and that it would restore to us seventeen of the books lost, to wit, from the sixtieth to the seventy-seventh, inclusive: that it was in possession of an Abbé Vella, who, as soon as he shall have finished a work he has on hand, will give us an Italian, and perhaps a Latin translation of this Livy. There are persons, however, who doubt the truth of this discovery, founding their doubts on some personal circumstances relating to the person who says he has this translation. I find, nevertheless, that the chargé des affaires believes in the discovery, which makes me hope it may be true.

A countryman of ours, a Mr. Ledyard of Connecticut, set out from hence some time ago for St. Petersburg, to go thence to Kamtschatka, thence to cross over to the western coast of America, and penetrate through the continent, to the other side of it. He had got within a few days' journey of Kamtschatka, when he was arrested by order of the Empress of Russia, sent back, and turned adrift in Poland. He went to London; engaged under the auspices of a private society, formed there for pushing discoveries into Africa; passed by this place, which he left a few days ago for Marseilles, where he will embark for Alexandria and Grand Cairo; thence explore the Nile to its source; cross the head of the Niger, and descend that to its mouth. He promises me, if he escapes through his journey, he will go to Kentucky, and endeavor to penetrate westwardly to the South Sea.

The death of M. de Buffon you have heard long ago. I do not know whether we shall have anything posthumous of his. As to political news, this country is making its way to a good constitution. The only danger is, they may press so fast as to produce an appeal to arms, which might have an unfavorable issue for them. As yet, the appeal is not made. Perhaps the war which seems to be spreading from nation to nation, may reach them; this would ensure the calling of the States General, and this, as is supposed, the establishment of a constitution.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of sincere esteem and respect, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO E. RUTLEDGE.

PARIS, July 18, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—Messrs. Berard were to have given me particular accounts of the proceeds of the shipments of rice made to them. But they have failed. I fear, from what they mention, that the price has been less advantageous than usual; which is unlucky, as it falls on the first essay. If on the whole, however, you get as much as you would have done by a sale on the spot, it should encourage other adventures, because the price at Havre or Rouen is commonly higher, and because I think you may, by trials, find out the way to avail yourselves of the Paris retail price. The Carolina rice sold at Paris, is separated

into three kinds: 1, the whole grains; 2, the broken grains; 3, the small stuff; and sell at ten, eight, and six livres the French pound, retail. The whole grains, which constitute the first quality, are picked out by hand. I would not recommend this operation to be done with you, because labor is dearer there than here. But I mention these prices, to show, that after making a reasonable deduction for sorting, and leaving a reasonable profit to the retailer, there should still remain a great wholesale price. I shall wish to know from you, how much your cargo of rice shipped to Berard netts you, and how much it would have netted in *hard money*, if you had sold it at home.

You promise, in your letter of October the 23d, 1787, to give me in your next, at large, the conjectures of your philosopher on the descent of the Creek Indians from the Carthaginians, supposed to have been separated from Hanno's fleet, during his periplus. I shall be very glad to receive them, and see nothing impossible in his conjecture. I am glad he means to appeal to similarity of language, which I consider as the strongest kind of proof it is possible to adduce. I have somewhere read, that the language of the ancient Carthaginians is still spoken by their descendants, inhabiting the mountainous interior parts of Barbary, to which they were obliged to retire by the conquering Arabs. If so, a vocabulary of their tongue can still be got, and if your friend will get one of the Creek languages, the comparison will decide. He probably may have

made progress in this business; but if he wishes any enquiries to be made on this side the Atlantic, I offer him my services cheerfully; my wish being like his, to ascertain the history of the American aborigines.

I congratulate you on the accession of your State to the new federal constitution. This is the last I have yet heard of, but I expect daily to hear that my own has followed the good example, and suppose it to be already established. Our government wanted bracing. Still, we must take care not to run from one extreme to another; not to brace too high. I own, I join those in opinion, who think a bill of rights necessary. I apprehend too, that the total abandonment of the principle of rotation in the offices of President and Senator, will end in abuse. But my confidence is, that there will, for a long time, be virtue and good sense enough in our countrymen, to correct abuses. We can surely boast of having set the world a beautiful example of a government reformed by reason alone, without bloodshed. But the world is too far oppressed, to profit by the example. On this side of the Atlantic, the blood of the people is become an inheritance, and those who fatten on it, will not relinquish it easily. The struggle in this country is, as yet, of doubtful issue. It is, in fact, between the monarchy and the parliaments. The nation is no otherwise concerned, but as both parties may be induced to let go some of its abuses, to court the public favor. The danger, is that the people, deceived by a false cry of liberty, may be

led to take side with one party, and thus give the other a pretext for crushing them still more. If they can avoid the appeal to arms, the nation will be sure to gain much by this controversy. But if that appeal is made, it will depend entirely on the disposition of the army, whether it issue in liberty or despotism. Those dispositions are not as yet known. In the meantime, there is great probability that the war kindled in the east, will spread from nation to nation, and in the long run, become general. * * *

I am, with the most sincere esteem and attachment, my dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO MR. CUTTING.

PARIS, July 24, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—I am indebted to your favor of the 11th instant for many details which I have not received otherwise. Notwithstanding a most extensive and laborious correspondence which I keep up with my friends on the other side the water, my information is slow, precarious and imperfect. The New York papers, which I receive regularly, and one or two correspondents in Congress, are my best sources. As you are desirous of having, before your departure for South Carolina, a sketch of European affairs, as they are seen from this position, I will give you the best I can, taking no notice of the "*bruit de Paris*," which, like the English newspapers, are but guesses, and made generally by persons who

do not give themselves the trouble of trying to guess right. I will confine myself to facts, or well-founded probabilities, and among these must necessarily repeat a great deal of what you know already. Perhaps all may be of that description.

The war undertaken by the Turks, unadvisedly, as was conjectured, has been attended with successes which are now hastening the public opinion to the other extreme; but it should be considered that they have been small successes only, in the partizan way. The probable event of the war can only be calculated after a great general action, because it is in that we shall see whether the European discipline has been overrated, and the want of it in the Turks exaggerated. Russia certainly undertook the war unwillingly, and the Emperor, it is thought, would now be glad to get out of it, but the Turks, who demanded a restitution of the Crimea, before they began the war, are not likely to recede from that demand, after the successes they have obtained, nor can Russia yield to it without some more decisive event than has yet taken place. A small affair on the Black Sea, which is believed, though not on grounds absolutely authentic, is calculated to revive her spirits. Twenty-seven gun boats, Russian, have obliged fifty-seven, commanded by the Captain Pacha himself, to retire after an obstinate action. The Russians were commanded by the Prince of Nassau, with whom our Paul Jones acted as volunteer, and probably directed the whole business. I

suppose he must have been just arrived, and that his command has not yet been made up. He is to be rear-admiral, and always to have a separate command. What the English newspapers said of remonstrances against his being received into the service, as far as I can learn from those who would have known it, and would have told it to me, was false, as is everything those papers say, ever did say, and ever will say. The probability, and almost certainty, that Sweden will take a part in the war, adds immensely to the embarrassments of Russia, and will almost certainly prevent her fleet going to the Mediterranean. It is tolerably certain that she has been excited to this by the Court of London, and that she has received, through their negotiations, a large subsidy from the Turks (about three millions of thalers), yet the meeting of the two fleets, and their saluting, instead of fighting each other, induces a suspicion that if he can hinder the Russian expedition by hectoring only, he may not mean to do more. Should this power really engage in the war, and should it at length spread to France and England, I shall view the Swedish separation from France as the event which alone decides that the late subversion of the European system will be ultimately serious to France. This power, with the two empires, and Spain, was more than a match for England, Prussia and Holland by land, and balanced them by sea. For on this element France and Spain are equal to England, and Russia to Holland. Sweden was

always supposed on the side of France, and to balance Denmark, on the side of England, by land and sea; but if she goes over decidedly into the English scale, the balance at sea will be destroyed by the amount of the whole force of these two powers, who can equip upwards of sixty sail of the line. There is a report, credited by judicious persons, that the Dutch patriots, before their suppression, foreseeing that event, sent orders to the East Indies to deliver Trincomale to the French, and that it has been done. My opinion is, either that this is not true, or that they will re-deliver it, and disavow their officer who accepted it. If they did not think Holland, and all its possessions, worth a war, they cannot think a single one of those possessions worth it. M. de St. Priest has leave to go to the waters. Probably he will then ask and have leave to come to Paris, and await events. The English papers have said the works of Cherbourg were destroyed irreparably. This is a mathematical demonstration that they are not. The truth is, that the head of one cone has been very much beaten off by the waters. But the happiness of that undertaking is, that all its injuries improve it. What is beaten from the head widens the base, and fixes the cone much more solidly. That work will be steadily pursued, and, in all human probability, be finally successful. They calculate on half a million of livres, say £20,000 sterling, for every cone, and that there will be from seventy to eighty cones. Prob-

ably they must make more cones, suppose one hundred, this will be two millions of pounds sterling. Versailles has cost fifty millions of pounds sterling. Ought we to doubt then that they will persevere to the end in a work small and useful, in proportion as the other was great and foolish?

The internal affairs here do not yet clear up. Most of the late innovations have been much for the better. Two only must be fundamentally condemned; the abolishing, in so great a degree, of the parliaments, and the substitution of so ill-composed a body as the *cour pleniere*. If the King has power to do this, the government of this country is a pure despotism. I think it a pure despotism in theory, but moderated in practice by the respect which the public opinion commands. But the nation repeats, after Montesquieu, that the different bodies of magistracy, of priests and nobles, are barriers between the King and the people. It would be easy to prove that these barriers can only appeal to public opinion, and that neither these bodies, nor the people, can oppose any legal check to the will of the monarch. But they are manifestly advancing fast to a constitution. Great progress is already made. The provincial assemblies, which will be a very perfect representative of the people, will secure them a great deal against the power of the crown. The confession lately made by the government, that it cannot impose a new tax, is a great thing: the convocation of the States General, which cannot be

avoided, will produce a national assembly, meeting at certain epochs, possessing at first probably only a negative on the laws, but which will grow into the right of original legislation, and prescribing limits to the expenses of the King. These are improvements which will assuredly take place, and which will give an energy to this country they have never yet had. Much may be hoped from the States General, because the King's dispositions are solidly good; he is capable of great sacrifices; all he wants to induce him to do a thing, is to be assured it will be for the good of the nation. He will probably believe what the States General shall tell him, and will do it. It is supposed they will reduce the parliament to a mere judiciary. I am in hopes all this will be effected without convulsions. The English papers have told the world, with their usual truth, that all here is civil war and confusion. There have been some riots, but as yet not a single life has been lost, according to the best evidence I have been able to collect. One officer was wounded at Grenoble. The arrest of the twelve deputies of Bretagne a fortnight ago, I apprehended would have produced an insurrection; but it seems as if it would not. They have sent eighteen deputies more, who will probably be heard. General Armand was one of the twelve, and is now in the Bastille. The Marquis de La Fayette, for signing the prayer which these deputies were to present, and which was signed by all the other nobles of Bretagne resident in Paris (about sixty in

number), has been disgraced, in the old-fashioned language of the country; that is to say, the command in the south of France this summer, which they had given him, is taken away. They took all they could from such others of the subscribers as held anything from the Court. This dishonors them at Court, and in the eyes and conversation of their competitors for preferment. But it will probably honor them in the eyes of the nation. This is as full a detail as I am able to give you of the affairs of Europe. I have nothing to add to them but my wishes for your health and happiness, and assurances of the esteem with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO MR. BELLINI.

PARIS, July 25, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—Though I have written to you seldom, you are often the object of my thoughts, and always of my affection. The truth is, that the circumstances with which I am surrounded, offer little worth detailing to you. You are too wise to feel an interest in the squabbles, in which the pride, the dissipations, and the tyranny of kings, keep this hemisphere constantly embroiled. Science indeed, finds some aliment here, and you are one of her sons. But this I have pretty regularly communicated to Mr. Madison, with whom, I am sure, you partici-

pate of it. It is with sincere pleasure I congratulate you on the good fortune of our friend Mazzei, who is appointed here, to correspond with the King of Poland. The particular character given him is not well defined, but the salary is, which is more important. It is eight thousand livres a year, which will enable him to live comfortably, while his duties will find him that occupation, without which he cannot exist. Whilst this appointment places him at his ease, it affords him a hope of permanence also. It suspends, if not entirely prevents, the visit he had intended to his native country, and the return to his adoptive one, which the death of his wife had rendered possible. This last event has given him three quarters of the globe elbow-room, which he had ceded to her, on condition she would leave him quiet in the fourth. Their partition of the next world will be more difficult, if it be divided only into two parts, according to the Protestant faith. Having seen by a letter you wrote him, that you were in want of a pair of spectacles, I undertook to procure you some, which I packed in a box of books addressed to Mr. Wythe, and of which I beg your acceptance. This box lay forgotten at Havre the whole of the last winter, but was at length shipped, and I trust has come to hand. I packed with the spectacles, three or four pair of glasses, adapted to the different periods of life, distinguished from each other by numbers, and easily changed. You see I am looking forward in

hope of a long life for you; and that it may be long enough to carry you through the whole succession of glasses, is my sincere prayer. Present me respectfully to Mrs. Bellini, assure her of my affectionate remembrance of her, and my wishes for her health and happiness; and accept yourself, very sincere professions of the esteem and attachment with which I am, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and servant.

TO MR. CUTTING.

PARIS, July 28, 1788.

SIR,—When I had the honor of writing you on the 24th instant, the transactions on the Black Sea were but vaguely known; I am now able to give them to you on better foundation. The Captain Pacha was proceeding with succors to Ocrakoff, as is said by some (for this fact does not come on the same authority with the others), the authentic account placing the two fleets in the neighborhood of each other at the mouth of the Liman, without saying how they came there. The Captain Pacha, with fifty-seven gun-boats, attacked the Russian vessels of the same kind, twenty-seven in number, the right wing of which was commanded by Admiral Paul Jones, the left by the Prince of Nassau. After an obstinate engagement of five hours, during which the Captain Pacha flew incessantly wherever there was danger or distress, he was obliged to

retire, having lost three of his vessels, and killed only eight men of the Russians. I take this account from the report of the action by the Prince of Nassau, which the Russian minister here showed me. It is said in other accounts, that all the balls of the Turks passed overhead, which was the reason they did so little execution. This was on the 10th of June, and was the forerunner of the great and decisive action between the two main fleets, which took place on the 26th, the Russian fleet, commanded by Admiral Paul Jones, the Turkish by Captain Pacha, of which the result only, and not the details, are given us. This was, that the vessels of the Turkish Admiral and Vice-Admiral, and four others, were burnt, that is to say, six in all, two others were taken, and between three and four thousand prisoners. The Captain Pacha's flag was taken, and himself obliged to fly in a small vessel, his whole fleet being dispersed. The Prince Potemkin immediately got under march for Ocrakoff, to take advantage of the consternation into which that place was thrown. These facts are written by Prince Potemkin, from his head-quarters, to Prince Gallitzin, the Russian Ambassador at Vienna, who writes them to their minister here, who showed me the letter. The number of prisoners taken, renders it probable that the Captain Pacha was on his way to the relief of Ocrakoff with transports, as a less authentic report said he was. We are not told authentically what was the force on each side in the

main action of the 26th, but it is supposed to have been about fifteen ships of the line on each side, besides their smaller vessels; but the evidence of this is vague, and the less to be relied on, as we have known that the Russians were much inferior in numbers to the Turks on that sea. A war of a less bloody kind is begun between the Pope and the King of Naples, who has refused this year to pay the annual tribute of the hackney as an acknowledgment that he holds his kingdom as feudatory of the Pope. The latter has declared him to stand deprived of his kingdom, but gives him three months to consider of it. We shall see what will be made of this farce. I have written this supplement to my other letter, in hopes it may still find you at London. I am, with much esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO MONSIEUR LIMOZIN.

PARIS, July 30, 1788.

SIR,—I know nothing myself of the person who was the subject of your letter of the 27th, except a mere slight personal acquaintance. But I have been told that he has been very unsuccessful in commerce, and that his affairs are very much deranged. I own I wish to see the beef-trade with America taken up by solid hands, because it will give new life to our Northern States. In general, they do not know how to cure it. But some persons of Massachusetts have

not very long ago brought over packers and picklers from Ireland, and the beef cured and packed by them has been sent to the East Indies and brought back again, and perfectly sound. We may expect the art will spread. Is the Irish beef as good as that of Hamburg? If I had supposed Irish beef could have been got at Havre, I would not have sent to Hamburg for beef. I suppose that which came for me cannot be introduced.

You have heard of the great naval victory obtained by the Russians under command of Admiral Paul Jones, over the Turks commanded by the Captain Pacha. We cannot see as yet, whether this will hasten peace. The Swedish fleet having saluted instead of attacking the Russian, makes us suspect these movements of the King of Sweden may be a mere piece of hectoring to frighten Russia from the purpose of sending her fleet round, if he can do it without actually entering into the war. He is paid by the Turks. Nothing else new. I am, Sir, with great esteem, your most obedient, humble servant.

TO JAMES MADISON.

PARIS, July 31, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—My last letters to you were of the 3d and the 25th of May. Yours from Orange, of April the 22d, came to hand on the 10th instant.

My letter to Mr. Jay, containing all the public news that is well authenticated, I will not repeat

it here, but add some details in the smaller way, which you may be glad to know. The disgrace of the Marquis de la Fayette, which at any other period of their history would have had the worst consequences for him, will, on the contrary, mark him favorably to the nation, at present. During the present administration, he can expect nothing; but perhaps it may serve him with their successors, whenever a change shall take place. No change of the Principal will probably take place before the meeting of the States General; though a change is to be wished, for his operations do not answer the expectations formed of him. These had been calculated on his brilliancy in society. He is very feebly aided, too. Montmorin is weak, though a most worthy character. He is indolent and inattentive, too, in the extreme. Luzerne is considerably inferior in abilities to his brother, whom you know. He is a good man, too, but so much out of his element, that he has the air of one *huskanoyed*. The Garde des sceaux is considered as the Principal's bull dog, braving danger like the animal. His talents do not pass mediocrity. The Archbishop's brother, and the new minister Villedeuil, and Lambert, have no will of their own. They cannot raise money for the peace establishment the next year, without the States General; much less if there be war; and their administration will probably end with the States General.

Littlepage, who was here as a secret agent for the King of Poland, rather overreached himself. He

wanted more money. The King furnished it, more than once. Still he wanted more, and thought to obtain a high bid by saying he was called for in America, and asking leave to go there. Contrary to his expectation, he received leave; but he went to Warsaw instead of America, and from thence to join the[1] * * * * I do not know these facts certainly, but recollect them, by putting several things together. The King then sent an ancient secretary here, in whom he had much confidence, to look out for a correspondent, a mere letter writer for him. A happy hazard threw Mazzei in his way. He recommended him, and he is appointed. He has no diplomatic character whatever, but is to receive eight thousand livres a year, as an intelligencer. I hope this employment may have some permanence. The danger is, that he will overact his part.

The Marquis de la Luzerne had been for many years married to his brother's wife's sister, secretly. She was ugly and deformed, but sensible, amiable, and rather rich. When he was ambassador to London, with ten thousand guineas a year, the marriage was avowed, and he relinquished his cross of Malta, from which he derived a handsome revenue for life, and which was very open to advancement. Not long ago, she died. His real affection for her, which was great and unfeigned, and perhaps the loss of his order for so short-lived a satisfaction, has thrown him

[1 Several paragraphs of this letter are in cipher. A few words here could not be deciphered.]

almost into a state of despondency. He is now here.

I send you a book of Dupont's, on the subject of the commercial treaty with England. Though its general matter may not be interesting, yet you will pick up in various parts of it, such excellent principles and observations, as will richly repay the trouble of reading it. I send you also, two little pamphlets of the Marquis de Condorcet, wherein is the most judicious statement I have seen, of the great questions which agitate this nation at present. The new regulations present a preponderance of good over their evil; but they suppose that the King can model the constitution at will, or, in other words, that his government is a pure despotism. The question then arising is, whether a pure despotism in a single head, or one which is divided among a king, nobles, priesthood, and numerous magistracy, is the least bad. I should be puzzled to decide; but I hope they will have neither, and that they are advancing to a limited, moderate government, in which the people will have a good share.

I sincerely rejoice at the acceptance of our new constitution by nine States. It is a good canvass, on which some strokes only want retouching. What these are, I think are sufficiently manifested by the general voice from north to south, which calls for a bill of rights. It seems pretty generally understood, that this should go to juries, habeas corpus, standing armies, printing, religion and monopolies. I con-

ceive there may be difficulty in finding general modifications of these, suited to the habits of all the States. But if such cannot be found, then it is better to establish trials by jury, the right of habeas corpus, freedom of the press and freedom of religion, in all cases, and to abolish standing armies in time of peace, and monopolies in all cases, than not to do it in any. The few cases wherein these things may do evil, cannot be weighed against the multitude wherein the want of them will do evil. In disputes between a foreigner and a native, a trial by jury may be improper. But if this exception cannot be agreed to, the remedy will be to model the jury, by giving the *mediatas linguæ*, in civil as well as criminal cases. Why suspend the habeas corpus in insurrections and rebellions? The parties who may be arrested, may be charged instantly with a well-defined crime; of course, the judge will remand them. If the public safety requires that the government should have a man imprisoned on less probable testimony, in those than in other emergencies, let him be taken and tried, retaken and retried, while the necessity continues, only giving him redress against the government, for damages. Examine the history of England. See how few of the cases of the suspension of the habeas corpus law, have been worthy of that suspension. They have been either real treason, wherein the parties might as well have been charged at once, or sham plots, where it was shameful they should ever have been suspected. Yet for the few cases wherein the

suspension of the habeas corpus has done real good, that operation is now become habitual, and the minds of the nation almost prepared to live under its constant suspension. A declaration, that the federal government will never restrain the presses from printing anything they please, will not take away the liability of the printers for false facts printed. The declaration, that religious faith shall be unpunished, does not give impunity to criminal acts, dictated by religious error. The saying there shall be no monopolies, lessens the incitements to ingenuity, which is spurred on by the hope of a monopoly for a limited time, as of fourteen years; but the benefit of even limited monopolies is too doubtful, to be opposed to that of their general suppression. If no check can be found to keep the number of standing troops within safe bounds, while they are tolerated as far as necessary, abandon them altogether, discipline well the militia, and guard the magazines with them. More than magazine guards will be useless, if few, and dangerous, if many. No European nation can ever send against us such a regular army as we need fear, and it is hard, if our militia are not equal to those of Canada or Florida. My idea then, is, that though proper exceptions to these general rules are desirable, and probably practicable, yet if the exceptions cannot be agreed on, the establishment of the rules, in all cases, will do ill in very few. I hope, therefore, a bill of rights will be formed, to guard the people against the

federal government, as they are already guarded against their State governments, in most instances. The abandoning the principle of necessary rotation in the Senate, has, I see, been disapproved by many; in the case of the President, by none. I readily, therefore, suppose my opinion wrong, when opposed by the majority, as in the former instance, and the totality, as in the latter. In this, however, I should have done it with more complete satisfaction, had we all judged from the same position.

Solicitations, which cannot be directly refused, oblige me to trouble you often, with letters recommending and introducing to you, persons who go from hence to America. I will beg the favor of you, to distinguish the letters wherein I appeal to recommendations from other persons, from those which I write on my own knowledge. In the former, it is never my intention to compromit myself or you. In both instances, I must beg you to ascribe the trouble I give you, to circumstances which do not leave me at liberty to decline it. I am, with very sincere esteem, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and servant.

TO COLONEL W. S. SMITH.

PARIS, August 2, 1788.

DEAR SIR, * * * * * * *

You arrived just in time to see the commencement of a new order of things. Our political machine is now pretty well wound up; but are the spirits of our

people sufficiently wound down to let it work glibly? I trust it is too soon for that, and that we have many centuries to come yet before my countrymen cease to bear their government hard in hand. This nation is rising from the dust. They have obtained as you know, provincial assemblies, in which there will be a more perfect representation of the people than in our State assemblies; they have obtained from the King a declaration that he cannot impose a new tax without the consent of the States General, and a promise to call the States General. When these meet, they will endeavor to establish a declaration of rights, a periodical national assembly, and a civil list. I am in hopes that even a war will not interrupt this work. Whether, or rather when, this will come upon them, is still uncertain. I do not think the present ill humor between them and England can be cleared up but by a war, and that it is not very distant. England, Holland and Prussia, have now settled their alliance. Sweden has shown dispositions to take side with the Turks, and both, in the event of a general war, would be in the English scale. The contrary one would be formed by France, Spain, and the two empires. It even seems possible that Denmark will attach itself to France instead of England, rather than not be opposed to Russia. The symptoms of this as yet, however, are slight. The victory lately obtained by our Admiral Paul Jones over the Captain Pacha, will produce a great effect on the Turkish war. He burnt six of his vessels, among

which was that of the Captain Pacha; and that also of his vice-admiral, took two, and made between three and four thousand prisoners, and this with a much inferior force. It was the effect of a gross error in the Captain Pacha, instantaneously and dexterously taken advantage of by Paul Jones, who hemmed them up in the swash at the mouth of the Boristhenes, so that their vessels buried themselves in the mud, where they were burnt. The Captain Pacha escaped in a small vessel. His flag fell into the hands of the Russians. Let me hear from you sometimes, assured I shall always be interested in your success. Present me in the most friendly terms to Mrs. Smith, and accept the best affection of, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

P. S. August 6th. Later accounts of the actions between the Russians and Turks, informs us that Paul Jones commanded the right wing of the little fleet of galleys, etc., in the first action, which was not at all decisive, but that when the second and decisive action took place, which was still by the galleys, etc., the Prince of Nassau alone commanded, Paul Jones being absent with the ships of war which he commands.

TO JOHN ADAMS, ESQ.

PARIS, August 2, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—I have received with a great deal of pleasure the account of your safe arrival and joyful

reception at Boston. Mr. Cutting was so kind as to send me a copy of the address of the Assembly to you and your answer, which, with the other circumstances, I have sent to have published in the gazettes of Leyden, and in a gazette here. It will serve to show the people of Europe that those of America are content with their servants, and particularly content with you.

The war with the Turks, Russians, and Austrians, goes on. A great victory obtained on the Black Sea over the Turks, as commanded by the Captain Pacha, by the Russians, commanded by Admiral Paul Jones, will serve to raise the spirits of the two empires. He burnt six ships, among which was the admiral's and vice-admiral's, took two, and made between three and four thousand prisoners. The Swedes having hastily armed a fleet of about sixteen sail of the line, and marched an army into Finland, the King at the head of it, made us believe they were going to attack the Russians. But when their fleet met with three Russian ships of one hundred guns each, they saluted and passed them. It is pretty well understood that the expenses of this armament are paid by the Turks, through the negotiations of England. And it would seem as if the King had hired himself to strut only; but not to fight, expecting probably that the former would suffice to divert the Russians from sending their fleet round to the Mediterranean. There are some late symptoms which would indicate that Denmark would still be opposed to Sweden, though she

should shift herself into the opposite scale. The alliance between England, Holland and Russia, is now settled. In the meantime, this country is losing all its allies one by one, without assuring to herself new ones. Prussia, Holland, Turkey, Sweden, are pretty certainly got, or getting into the English interest, and the alliance of France with the two empires is not yet secured. I am in hopes her internal affairs will be arranged without blood. None has been shed as yet. The nation presses on sufficiently upon the government to force reformations, without forcing them to draw the sword. If they can keep the opposition always exactly at this point all will end well. Peace or war, they cannot fail now to have the States General, and I think in the course of the following year. They have already obtained the provincial Assemblies as you know. The King has solemnly confessed he cannot lay a new tax without consent of the States General, and when these assemble they will try to have themselves moulded into a periodical assembly, to form a declaration of rights, and a civil list for the government. The Baron de Breteuil has lately retired from the ministry, and has been succeeded by M. de Villedeuil. Monsieur de Malesherbes will probably retire. The Marquis de La Fayette, with several others, have lately received a fillip for having assembled to sign a memorial to the King, which had been sent up from Brittany. They took from the Marquis a particular command which he was to have exercised during the

months of August and September this year in the south of France. Your friends the Abbés are well, and always inquire after you. I shall be happy to hear from you from time to time, to learn State news and State politics, for which I will give you in return those of this quarter of the earth. I hope Mrs. Adams is well; I am sure she is happier in her own country than any other. Assure her of my constant friendship, and accept assurances of the same from, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

P. S. Make freely any use of me here which may be convenient either for yourself or Mrs. Adams.

P. S. August 6. Later accounts inform us that there have been two actions between the Russians and Turks. The first was of the galleys on both sides. In this, Paul Jones being accidentally present, commanded the right wing. The Russians repulsed the Turks. The second action was of the Russian galleys against the Turkish ships of war. The effect was what is stated in the preceding letter. But the command was solely in the Prince of Nassau. Paul Jones with his fleet of ships of war being absent, Prince Potemkin immediately got under march for Oczakow, to take advantage of the consternation it was thrown into. The Swedes have commenced hostilities against the Russians, and war against them is consequently declared by the Empress.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, August 3, 1788.

SIR,—My last letters to you were of the 4th and 23d of May, with a postscript of the 27th. Since that, I have been honored with yours of April the 24th, May the 16th and June the 9th.

The most remarkable internal occurrences since my last, are these. The Noblesse of Bretagne, who had received with so much warmth the late innovations in the government, assembled, and drew up a memorial to the King, and chose twelve members of their body to come and present it. Among these was the Marquis de La Rouerie, (Colonel Armand). The King, considering the Noblesse as having no legal right to assemble, declined receiving the memorial. The deputies, to give greater weight to it, called a meeting of the landed proprietors of Bretagne, resident at Paris, and proposed to them to add their signatures. They did so, to the number of about sixty, of whom the Marquis de La Fayette was one. The twelve deputies, for having called this meeting, were immediately sent to the Bastile, where they now are, and the Parisian signers were deprived of such favors as they held of the court. There were only four of them, however, who held anything of that kind. The Marquis de La Fayette was one of these. They had given him a military command, to be exercised in the south of France, during the months of August and September of the

present year. This they took from him; so that he is disgraced, in the ancient language of the court, but in truth honorably marked in the eyes of the nation. The ministers are so sensible of this, that they have had, separately, private conferences with him, to endeavor, through him, to keep things quiet. From the character of the province of Bretagne, it was much apprehended, for some days, that the imprisonment of their deputies would have produced an insurrection. But it took another turn. The *Cours intermediare* of the province, acknowledged to be a legal body, deputed eighteen members of their body to the King. To these he gave an audience, and the answer, of which I send you a copy. This is hard enough. Yet I am in hopes the appeal to the sword will be avoided, and great modifications in the government be obtained, without bloodshed. As yet, none has been spilt, according to the best evidence I have been able to obtain, notwithstanding what the foreign newspapers have said to the contrary. The convocation of the States General has now become inevitable. Whenever the time shall be announced certainly, it will keep the nation quiet till they meet. According to present probabilities, this must be in the course of the next summer; but to what movements their meeting and measures may give occasion, cannot be foreseen. Should a foreign war take place, still they must assemble the States General, because they cannot, but by their aid, obtain money to carry it on. Monsieur de Malesherbes will, I believe, retire

from the King's Council. He has been much opposed to the late acts of authority. The Baron de Breteuil has resigned his secretaryship of the domestic department; certainly not for the same reasons, as he is known to have been of opinion, that the King had compromitted too much of his authority. The real reason has probably been an impatience of acting under a principal minister. His successor is M. de Villedeuil, lately Comptroller General.

The Ambassadors of Tippoo Saib have arrived here. If their mission has any other object than that of pomp and ceremony, it is not yet made known. Though this court has not avowed that they are in possession of Trincomale, yet the report is believed, and that possession was taken by General Conway, in consequence of orders given in the moment that they thought a war certain. The dispute with the States General of the United Netherlands, on account of the insult to M. de St. Priest, does not tend as yet, towards a settlement. He has obtained leave to go to the waters, and perhaps, from thence he may come to Paris, to await events. Sweden has commenced hostilities against Russia, by the taking a little fortress by land. This having been their intention, it is wonderful that when their fleet lately met three Russian ships of one hundred guns each, they saluted instead of taking them. The Empress has declared war against them in her turn. It is well understood that Sweden is set on by England, and paid by the Turks. The prospect of Russia has much brightened

by some late successes. Their fleet of galleys and gunboats, twenty-seven in number, having been attacked by fifty-seven Turkish vessels of the same kind, commanded by the Captain Pacha, these were repulsed, with the loss of three vessels. In the action which was on the 18th of June, Admiral Paul Jones commanded the right wing of the Russians, and the Prince of Nassau, the left. On the 26th of the same month, the Turkish principal fleet, that is to say, their ships of the line, frigates, etc., having got themselves near the swash, at the mouth of the Boristhenes, the Prince of Nassau took advantage of their position, attacked them while so engaged in the mud that they could not manœuvre, burnt six, among which were the admiral's, and vice-admiral's, took two, and made between three and four thousand prisoners. The first reports gave this success to Admiral Paul Jones; but it is now rendered rather probable that he was not there, as he commands the vessels of war which are said not to have been there. It is supposed that his presence in the affair of the 18th, was accidental. But if this success has been so complete as it is represented, the Black Sea must be tolerably open to the Russians: in which case, we may expect, from what we know of that officer, that he will improve to the greatest advantage the situation of things on that sea. The Captain Pacha's standard was taken in the last action, and himself obliged to make his escape in a small vessel. Prince Potemkin immediately got under march for Ocza-

kow, to take advantage of the consternation into which that place was thrown.

The Spanish squadron, after cruising off the western isles and Cape St. Vincent, has returned into port.

A dispute has arisen between the Papal See and the King of Naples, which may, in its progress, enable us to estimate what degree of influence that See retains at the present day. The kingdom of Naples, at an early period of its history, became feudatory to the See of Rome, and in acknowledgment thereof, has annually paid a hackney to the Pope in Rome, to which place it has always been sent by a splendid embassy. The hackney has been refused by the King this year, and the Pope giving him three months to return to obedience, threatens, if he does not, to proceed seriously against him.

About three weeks ago, a person called on me and informed me that Silas Deane had taken him in for a sum of one hundred and twenty guineas, and that being unable to obtain any other satisfaction, he had laid hands on his account book and letter book, and had brought them off to Paris, to offer them first to the United States, if they would repay him his money, and if not, that he should return to London, and offer them to the British Minister. I desired him to leave them with me four-and-twenty hours, that I might judge whether they were worth our notice. He did so. They were two volumes. One contained all his accounts with the United States, from his first coming to Europe, to January the 10th, 1781. Presuming

that the treasury board was in possession of this account till his arrival in Philadelphia, August, 1778, and that he had never given in the subsequent part, I had that subsequent part copied from the book, and now enclose it, as it may, on some occasion or other, perhaps be useful in the treasury office. The other volume contained all his correspondences from March the 30th to August the 23d, 1777. I had a list of the letters taken, by their dates and addresses, which will enable you to form a general idea of the collection. On perusal of many of them, I thought it desirable that they should not come to the hands of the British Minister, and from an expression dropped by the possessor of them, I believe he would have fallen to fifty or sixty guineas. I did not think them important enough, however, to justify my purchasing them without authority; though, with authority, I should have done it. Indeed, I would have given that sum to cut out a single sentence, which contained evidence of a fact, not proper to be committed to the hands of enemies. I told him I would state his proposition to you, and await orders. I gave him back the books, and he returned to London without making any promise that he would await the event of the orders you might think proper to give.

News of the accession of nine States to the new form of federal government, has been received here about a week. I have the honor to congratulate you sincerely on this event. Of its effect at home,

you are in the best situation to judge. On this side the Atlantic it is considered as a very wise reformation. In consequence of this, speculations are already begun here, to purchase up our domestic liquidated debt. Indeed, I suspect that orders may have been previously lodged in America to do this, as soon as the new Constitution was accepted effectually. If it is thought that this debt should be retained at home, there is not a moment to lose; and I know of no means of retaining it, but those I suggested to the treasury board, in my letter to them of March the 29th. The transfer of these debts to Europe, will exclusively embarrass, and perhaps totally prevent the borrowing any money in Europe, till these shall be paid off. This is a momentous object, and in my opinion should receive instantaneous attention.

The gazettes of France, to the departure of my letter, will accompany it, and those of Leyden to the 22d of July, at which time their distribution in this country was prohibited. How long the prohibition may continue, I cannot tell. As far as I can judge, it is the only paper in Europe worth reading. Since the suppression of the packet boats, I have never been able to find a safe conveyance for a letter to you, till the present by Mrs. Barclay. Whenever a confidential person shall be going from hence to London, I shall send my letters for you to the care of Mr. Trumbull, who will look out for safe conveyances. This will render the epochs of my writing

very irregular. There is a proposition under consideration, for establishing packet boats on a more economical plan, from Havre to Boston; but its success is uncertain, and still more, its duration. I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO COLONEL MONROE.

PARIS, August 9, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—Since my last to you, I have to thank you for your favors of July the 27th, 1787, and April the 10th, 1788, and the details they contained; and in return, will give you now the leading circumstances of this continent. * * * *

This nation is, at present, under great internal agitation. The authority of the crown on one part, and that of the parliaments on the other, are fairly at issue. Good men take part with neither, but have raised an opposition, the object of which is, to obtain a fixed and temperate constitution. There was a moment, when this opposition ran so high, as to endanger an appeal to arms, in which case, perhaps, it would have been crushed. The moderation of government has avoided this, and they are yielding daily, one right after another, to the nation. They have given them Provincial Assemblies, which will be very perfect representations of the nation, and stand somewhat in the place of our State Assemblies;

they have reformed the criminal law; acknowledged the King cannot lay a new tax, without the consent of the States General; and they will call the States General the next year. The object of this body, when met, will be a bill of rights, a civil list, a national assembly meeting at certain epochs, and some other matters of that kind. So that I think it probable, this country will, within two or three years, be in the enjoyment of a tolerably free constitution, and that without its having cost them a drop of blood; for none has yet been spilt, though the English papers have set the whole nation to cutting throats.

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Be assured of those sentiments of esteem and attachment with which I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO MONSIEUR DE CREVE-COEUR.

PARIS, August 9, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—While our second revolution is just brought to a happy end with you, yours here is but cleverly under way. For some days, I was really melancholy with the apprehension, that arms would be appealed to, and the opposition crushed in its first efforts. But things seem now to wear a better aspect. While the opposition keeps at its highest wholesome point, government, unwilling to draw the sword, is not forced to do it. The contest here is exactly what it was in Holland: a contest between the monarchical

and aristocratical parts of the government, for a monopoly of despotism over the people. The aristocracy in Holland, seeing that their common prey was likely to escape out of their clutches, chose rather to retain its former portion, and therefore coalesced with the single head. The people remained victims. Here, I think, it will take a happier turn. The parliamentary part of the aristocracy is alone firmly united. The Noblesse and Clergy, but especially the former, are divided partly between the parliamentary and the despotic party, and partly united with the real patriots, who are endeavoring to gain for the nation what they can, both from the parliamentary and the single despotism. I think I am not mistaken in believing that the King and some of his ministers are well affected to this band; and surely, that they will make great cessions to the people, rather than small ones to the parliament. They are, accordingly, yielding daily to the national reclamations, and will probably end, in according a well-tempered constitution. They promise the States General for the next year, and I have good information that an *Arret* will appear the day after to-morrow, announcing them for May, 1789. How they will be composed, and what they will do, cannot be foreseen. Their convocation, however, will tranquillize the public mind, in a great degree, till their meeting. There are, however, two intervening difficulties: 1. Justice cannot till then continue completely suspended, as it now is. The parliament will not resume their functions, but

in their entire body. The baillages are afraid to accept of them. What will be done? 2. There are well-founded fears of a bankruptcy before the month of May. In the meantime, the war is spreading from nation to nation. Sweden has commenced hostilities against Russia; Denmark is showing its teeth against Sweden; Prussia against Denmark; and England too deeply engaged in playing the back game, to avoid coming forward, and dragging this country and Spain in with her. But even war will not prevent the assembly of the States General, because it cannot be carried on without them. War, however, is not the most favorable moment for divesting the monarchy of power. On the contrary, it is the moment when the energy of a single hand shows itself in the most seducing form.

A very considerable portion of this country has been desolated by a hail. I considered the newspaper accounts, of hailstones of ten pounds weight, as exaggerations. But in a conversation with the Duke de La Rochefoucault, the other day, he assured me, that though he could not say he had seen such himself, yet he considered the fact as perfectly established. Great contributions, public and private, are making for the sufferers. But they will be like the drop of water from the finger of Lazarus. There is no remedy for the present evil, nor way to prevent future ones, but to bring the people to such a state of ease, as not to be ruined by the loss of a single crop. This hail may be considered as the *coup de grace* to

an expiring victim. In the arts, there is nothing new discovered since you left us, which is worth communicating. Mr. Payne's iron bridge was exhibited here, with great approbation. An idea has been encouraged, of executing it in three arches, at the King's garden. But it will probably not be done.

I am, with sentiments of perfect esteem and attachment, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO J. BANNISTER, JR., ESQ.

PARIS, August 9, 1788.

DEAR SIR,— * * * * * * *

This country at present is extremely agitated by the disputes between the King and his parliaments. Between these two parties there is a middle patriotic one, proceeding with a steady step to recover from both what they can for the nation, and I think they will obtain a pretty good constitution. It is now pretty certain they will call the States General the next year, and probably in the month of May. It is expected that Assembly will endeavor to fix some certain limits to the royal authority. The Swedes have commenced hostilities against the Russians, and obtained a small advantage in an engagement on the Baltic. The Russians have had two considerable actions on the Black Sea with the Turks. The first was in their favor, the second a complete victory. In the first, Admiral Paul Jones commanded the

right wing. He was not at the second action. He commands the ships of war on that sea. Both actions were by the Russian galleys, commanded by the Prince of Nassau, and Paul Jones seems to have been accidentally present in the first. These victories will probably have a great effect. This country wishes to keep out of the war, but I doubt the possibility of it. Your affectionate friend and humble servant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE COUNT DE MOUSTIER.

PARIS, August 9, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—Though your numerous and well-informed correspondents here must keep you constantly *au courant* of what passes in Europe, yet I cannot relinquish the privilege of writing to you altogether, merely because I can tell you nothing but what you learn better from other hands. You will have heard of the astonishing revolution in the politics of Sweden, which has lately carried her into the scale favored by England and opposed to France. Hostilities were commenced by the Swedes, by the attack of a small Russian post. They pretend the Russians had previously entered on their territory and burnt a village or two, but it is believed that this pretended aggression was by Swedes themselves in Cossack dress, to give a color for hostilities where none existed before. It is said, and believed, there has been a naval action on the Baltic, wherein the

Russians were obliged to retire, with the loss of two ships. But the latter have been more fortunate in two actions against the Turks, on the Black Sea. In the first, they but barely repulsed the Turks, with the loss of three vessels of the latter. In the second, they obtained a complete and decisive victory. I think there is a hope that Denmark will still oppose itself to Sweden. If so, the balance of naval power will still be preserved in some degree; for though Sweden may return to France on a future occasion if the latter should not be obliged to enter into the present war, if she does enter into it, I apprehend Sweden will ultimately arrange herself with the adverse party. And that she must enter into, in the long run, I think extremely probable. I sincerely wish this may not be, till she shall have arranged her internal affairs. These, in my opinion, are going on in the fairest way possible to produce good to the body of the nation. The progress already made is great, and the cry for further improvement, without being strong enough to induce government to draw the sword and crush the opposition, is strong enough to goad them on towards the establishment of a constitution. I think that among the ministers themselves there are some good patriots who are not entirely displeased at this degree of violence. It is already announced that the States General will be called in 1789, and I have tolerably good information that an *Arret* will appear the day after to-morrow announcing them for May, 1789; but my

letters must go off to-morrow, so that this intelligence cannot be confirmed in them. You will have heard that the Baron de Breteuil is retired, and Monsieur de Villedeuil in his place. M. de Malesherbes has endeavored to retire, but as yet he is overpowered by strong intercession. The Maréchal de Richelieu died yesterday. The Maréchal de Vaux is at the point of death in Dauphine. The Ambassadors of Tippoo Saib are to be received to-morrow at Versailles in great pomp. I go to see this *jeu d'enfants*. I wish Madame de Brehan could be there to paint it. By this time, I am afraid she is ready to do justice to my information on the subject of my own country, that the Cultivateur Americaine had been too much disposed to see the fair side; that it had two sides as well as all other countries, etc. I beg her indulgence for our foibles, and a continuance particularly of her partiality to me. Be so good as to present me very affectionately to her, and to be assured of the sincerity of the esteem and attachment with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, August 10, 1788.

SIR,—I have waited till the last moment of Mrs. Barclay's departure, to write you the occurrences since my letter of the 3d instant. We have received the Swedish account of an engagement between their

fleet and the Russian, on the Baltic, wherein they say they took one, and burned another Russian vessel, with the loss of one on their side, and that the victory remained with them. They say, at the same time, that their fleet returned into port, and the Russians kept the sea; we must, therefore, suspend our opinion, till we get the Russian version of this engagement. The Swedish manifesto was handed about to-day at Versailles, by the Swedish ambassador, in manuscript. The King complains that Russia has been ever endeavoring to sow divisions in his kingdom, in order to re-establish the ancient constitution; that he has long borne it, through a love of peace, but finds it no longer bearable; that still, however, he will make peace on these conditions: 1, that the Empress punishes her Minister for the note he gave in to the court of Stockholm; 2, that she restore Crimea to the Turks; and 3, that she repay to him all the expenses of his armament. The Russian force in vessels of war, on the Black Sea, are five frigates and three ships of the line; but those of the line are shut up in port, and cannot come out, till Oczakow shall be taken. This fleet is commanded by Paul Jones, with the rank of rear-admiral. The Prince of Nassau commands the galleys and gunboats. It is now ascertained that the States General will assemble the next year, and probably in the month of May. Tippoo Saib's ambassadors had their reception to-day at Versailles, with unusual pomp. The presence was so numerous, that little

could be caught of what they said to the King, and he answered to them; from what little I could hear, nothing more passed than mutual assurances of good will. The name of the Maréchal de Richelieu is sufficiently remarkable in history, to justify my mentioning his death, which happened two days ago: he was aged ninety-two years.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, August 11, 1788.

SIR,—In my letter of the last night, written in the moment of Mrs. Barclay's departure, I had the honor of mentioning to you, that it was now pretty certain that the States General would be assembled in the next year, and probably in the month of May. This morning an *Arret* is published, announcing that their meeting is fixed on the first day of May next, of which I enclose you a copy by post, in hopes it will get to Bordeaux in time for Mrs. Barclay. This *Arret* ought to have a great effect towards tranquillizing the nation. There are still, however, two circumstances which must continue to perplex the administration. The first is, the want of money, occasioned not only by the difficulty of filling up the loan of the next year, but by the withholding the ordinary supplies of taxes, which is said to have taken place in

some instances: this gives apprehension of a bankruptcy under some form or other, and has occasioned the stocks to fall in the most alarming manner. The second circumstance is, that justice, both civil and criminal, continues suspended. The parliament will not resume their functions, but with their whole body and the greater part of the baillages declined acting; the present *Arret* announces a perseverance in this plan. I have information from Algiers, of the 5th of June, that the plague is raging there with great violence; that one of our captives was dead of it, and another ill, so that we have there, in all, now, only fifteen or sixteen; that the captives are more exposed to its ravages than others; that the great redemptions by the Spaniards, Portuguese and Neapolitans, and the havoc made by the plague, had now left not more than four hundred slaves in Algiers; so that their redemption was become not only exorbitant, but almost inadmissible; that common sailors were held at four hundred pounds sterling, and that our fifteen or sixteen could probably not be redeemed for less than from twenty-five to thirty thousand dollars. An Algerine cruiser, having twenty-eight captives of Genoa aboard, was lately chased ashore by two Neapolitan vessels; the crew and captives got safe ashore, and the latter, of course, recovered their freedom. The Algerine crew was well treated, and would be sent back by the French. But the government of Algiers demands of France sixty thousand sequins, or twenty-seven thousand pounds

sterling, for the captives escaped; that is, nearly one thousand pounds each. The greater part of the regency were for an immediate declaration of war against France; but the Dey urged the heavy war the Turks were at present engaged in; that it would be better not to draw another power on them, at present; that they would decline renewing the treaty of one hundred years, which expired two years ago, so as to be free to act hereafter; but for the present, they ought to accept payment for the captives as a satisfaction. They accordingly declared to the French consul that they would put him and all his countrymen there into irons, unless the sixty thousand sequins were paid; the consul told them, his instructions were, positively, that they should not be paid. In this situation stood matters between that pettifogging nest of robbers, and this great kingdom, which will finish, probably, by crouching under them, and paying the sixty thousand sequins. From the personal characters of the present administration, I should have hoped, under any other situation than the present, they might have ventured to quit the beaten track of politics hitherto pursued, in which the honor of their nation has been calculated at nought, and to join in a league for keeping up a perpetual cruise against these pirates, which, though a slow operation, would be a sure one for destroying all their vessels and seamen, and turning the rest of them to agriculture. But a desire of not bringing upon themselves another diffi-

culty, will *probably* induce the ministers to do as their predecessors have done.

August 12. The enclosed paper of this morning, gives some particulars of the action between the Russians and Swedes, the manifesto of the Empress, and the declaration of the court of Versailles, as to the affair of Trincomcale.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

PARIS, August 12, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—Since my last to you, I have been honored with yours of the 18th and 29th of May, and 8th of June. My latest American intelligence is of the 24th of June, when nine certainly, and probably ten States, had accepted the new Constitution, and there was no doubt of the eleventh (North Carolina), because there was no opposition there. In New York, two-thirds of the State were against it, and certainly, if they had been called to the decision in any other stage of the business, they would have rejected it; but before they put it to the vote, they would certainly have heard that eleven States had joined in it, and they would find it safer to go with those eleven, than put themselves into opposition, with Rhode Island only. Though I am much pleased with this successful issue of the new Constitution, yet

I am more so, to find that one of its principal defects (the want of a declaration of rights) will pretty certainly be remedied. I suppose this, because I see that both people and conventions, in almost every State, have concurred in demanding it. Another defect, the perpetual re-eligibility of the same President, will probably not be cured during the life of General Washington. His merit has blinded our countrymen to the danger of making so important an officer re-eligible. I presume there will not be a vote against him in the United States. It is more doubtful who will be Vice-President. The age of Dr. Franklin, and the doubt whether he would accept it, are the only circumstances that admit a question, but that he would be the man. After these two characters of first magnitude, there are so many which present themselves equally, on the second line, that we cannot see which of them will be singled out. John Adams, Hancock, Jay, Madison, Rutledge, will all be voted for. Congress has acceded to the prayer of Kentucky, to become an independent member of the Union. A committee was occupied in settling the plan of receiving them, and their government is to commence on the 1st day of January next.

You are, I dare say, pleased, as I am, with the promotion of our countryman, Paul Jones. He commanded the right wing, in the first engagement between the Russian and Turkish galleys; his absence from the second proves his superiority over the Captain Pacha, as he did not choose to bring his ships

into the shoals in which the Pacha ventured, and lost those entrusted to him. I consider this officer as the principal hope of our future efforts on the ocean. You will have heard of the action between the Swedes and Russians, on the Baltic; as yet, we have only the Swedish version of it. I apprehend this war must catch from nation to nation, till it becomes general.

With respect to the internal affairs of this country, I hope they will be finally well arranged, and without having cost a drop of blood. Looking on as a bystander, no otherwise interested, than as entertaining a sincere love for the nation in general, and a wish to see their happiness promoted, keeping myself clear of the particular views and passions of individuals, I applaud extremely the patriotic proceedings of the present ministry. Provincial Assemblies established, the States General called, the right of taxing the nation without their consent abandoned, corvées abolished, torture abolished, the criminal code reformed, are facts which will do eternal honor to their administration, in history. But were I their historian, I should not equally applaud their total abandonment of their foreign affairs. A bolder front in the beginning would have prevented the first loss, and, consequently, all the others. Holland, Prussia, Turkey and Sweden, lost without the acquisition of a single new ally, are painful reflections, for the friends of France. They may, indeed, have in their places, the two empires, and perhaps

Denmark; in which case, physically speaking, they will stand on as good ground as before, but not on as good moral ground. Perhaps, seeing more of the internal working of the machine, they saw, more than we do, the physical impossibility of having money to carry on a war. Their justification must depend on this, and their atonement, on the internal good they are doing to their country; this makes me completely their friend.

I am, with great esteem and attachment, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO MR. J. RUTLEDGE, JUNIOR.

PARIS, August 12, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—Obliged to make one letter serve for yourself and Mr. Shippen, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of August the 1st, and his of July the 12th and 31st. By news from Virginia of the 12th of June, when their convention had been eleven days in session, there was no doubt but that she, soon after that date, would give the ninth vote in favor of the new Constitution. New Hampshire acceded to it on the 24th of June. Of North Carolina no doubt is entertained. Congress have agreed to the independence of Kentucky. An *Arret* was published here yesterday announcing that the convocation of the States General should be for the 1st of May next, and in the meantime suspending the *cours pleniere*, but persevering in the

parliamentary reform. This, I think, secures the reformation of their constitution without bloodshed. You will already have heard of the commencement of hostilities between Sweden and Russia. This war, I think, will catch from nation to nation till it becomes general. I imagine you will find it unsafe to proceed from Vienna to Constantinople. I do not think the object will justify any personal risk. Mr. Short is not yet decided as to his route, or the time of his beginning it. I am, with very great esteem, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, August 20, 1788.

SIR,—I had the honor to write to you on the 3d, 10th, and 11th instant, with a postscript of the 12th; all of which went by Mrs. Barclay. Since that date, we have received an account of a third victory obtained by the Russians over the Turks, on the Black Sea, in which the Prince of Nassau, with his galleys, destroyed two frigates, three smaller vessels, and six galleys. The Turkish power on that sea, is represented by their enemies as now annihilated. There is reason to believe, however, that this is not literally true, and, that aided by the supplies furnished by the English, they are making extraordinary efforts to re-establish their marine. The Russian Minister here has shown the official report of Admiral Greigh, on the combat of July the 17th, in which he

claims the victory, and urges in proof of it, that he kept the field of battle. This report is said to have been written on it. As this paper, together with the report of the Swedish admiral, is printed in the Leyden gazette of the 15th instant, I enclose it to you. The court of Denmark has declared, it will furnish Russia the aid stipulated in their treaty; and it is not doubted they will go beyond this, and become principals in the war. The next probable moves are, that the King of Prussia will succor Sweden; and Poland, Russia, by land; and a possible consequence is, that England may send a squadron into the Baltic, to restore equilibrium in that sea. In my letter of the 11th, I observed to you, that this country would have two difficulties to struggle with, till the meeting of their States General, and that one of these was the want of money: this has, in fact, overborne all their resources, and the day before yesterday, they published an *Arret*, suspending all reimbursements of capital, and reducing the payments of the principal mass of demands for interest, to twelve sous in the livre; the remaining eight sous to be paid with certificates. I enclose you a newspaper with the *Arret*. In this paper, you will see the exchange of yesterday, and I have inserted that of the day before, to show you the fall. The consternation is, as yet, too great to let us judge of the issue. It will probably ripen the public mind to the necessity of a change in their constitution, and to the substituting the collected wisdom of the whole, in place of a single will, by

which they have been hitherto governed. It is a remarkable proof of the total incompetency of a single head to govern a nation well, when, with a revenue of six hundred millions, they are led to a declared bankruptcy, and to stop the wheels of government, even in its most essential movements, for want of money.

I send the present letter by a private conveyance to a sea port, in hopes a conveyance may be found by some merchant vessel.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO MR. CUTTING.

PARIS, August 23, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—I have duly received your favors of the 3d, 8th, 14th and 15th instant, and have now the honor of enclosing you a letter of introduction to Doctor Ramsay.

I think a certainty that England and France must enter into the war, was a great inducement to the ministry here, to suspend the portion of public payments which they have lately suspended. By this operation, they secure two hundred and three millions of livres, or eight millions and a half of guineas, in the course of this and the ensuing year, which will be sufficient for the campaign of the first year: for what is to follow, the States General must provide.

The interesting question now is, how the States General shall be composed? There are three opinions. 1. To place the three estates, Clergy, Noblesse, and Commons, in three different Houses. The Clergy would, probably, like this, and some of the Nobility; but it has no partisans out of those orders. 2. To put the Clergy and Noblesse into one House, and the Commons into another. The Noblesse will be generally for this. 3. To put the three orders into one House, and make the Commons the majority of that House. This reunites the greatest number of partisans, and I suspect it is well patronized in the ministry, who, I am persuaded, are proceeding *bona fide*, to improve the constitution of their country. As to the opposition which the English expect from the personal character of the King, it proves they do not know what his personal character is. He is the honestest man in his kingdom, and the most regular and economical. He has no foible which will enlist him against the good of his people; and whatever constitution will promote this, he will befriend. But he will not befriend it obstinately: he has given repeated proofs of a readiness to sacrifice his opinion to the wish of the nation. I believe he will consider the opinion of the States General, as the best evidence of what will please and profit the nation, and will conform to it. All the characters at court may not be of this disposition, and from thence may, possibly, arise representations, capable of leading the King astray; but upon a full view of all circumstances,

I have sanguine hopes, that such a constitution will be established here, as will regenerate the energy of the nation, cover its friends, and make its enemies tremble. I am, with very great esteem, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, September 3, 1788.

SIR,—By Mrs. Barclay I had the honor of sending you letters of the 3d, 10th and 11th of August: since which, I wrote you of the 20th of the same month, by a casual conveyance, as is the present.

In my letter of the 20th, I informed you of the act of public bankruptcy which had taken place here. The effect of this would have been a forced loan of about one hundred and eighty millions of livres, in the course of the present and ensuing year. But it did not yield a sufficient immediate relief. The treasury became literally moneyless, and all purposes depending on this mover, came to a stand. The Archbishop was hereupon removed, with Monsieur Lambert, the Comptroller General; and Mr. Neckar was called in, as Director General of the finance. To soften the Archbishop's dismission, a cardinal's hat is asked for him from Rome, and his nephew promised the succession to the Archbishopric of Sens. The public joy, on this change of administration, was very great indeed. The people of Paris were amusing themselves with trying and burning

the Archbishop in effigy, and rejoicing on the appointment of Mr. Neckar. The commanding officer of the city guards undertook to forbid this, and not being obeyed, he charged the mob with fixed bayonets, killed two or three, and wounded many: this stopped their rejoicings for that day; but enraged at being thus obstructed in amusements wherein they had committed no disorder whatever, they collected in great numbers the next day, attacked the guards in various places, burnt ten or twelve guard houses, killed two or three of the guards, and had about six or eight of their own number killed. The city was hereupon put under martial law, and after a while, the tumult subsided, and peace was restored. The public stocks rose ten per cent. on the day of Mr. Neckar's appointment: he was immediately offered considerable sums of money, and has been able so far to waive the benefit of the act of bankruptcy, as to pay in cash all demands, except the *remboursements des capitaux*. For these, and for a sure supply of other wants, he will depend on the States General, and will hasten their meetings, as is thought. No other change has yet taken place in the administration. The minister of war, however, must certainly follow his brother, and some think, and all wish, that Monsieur de Lamoignon, the Garde des Sceaux, may go out also. The administration of justice is still suspended. The whole kingdom seems tranquil at this moment.

Abroad, no event worth noting has taken place,

since my last. The court of Denmark has not declared it will do anything more than furnish the stipulated aid to Russia. The King of Prussia has, as yet, made no move which may decide whether he will engage in the war, nor has England sent any squadron into the Baltic. As the season for action is considerably passed over, it is become more doubtful, whether any other power will enter the lists till the next campaign: this will give time for stopping the further progress of the war, if they really wish to stop it. Two camps, of twenty-five thousand men each, are forming in this country, on its northern limits. The Prince of Condé has the command of one, and the Duke de Broglio of the other.

I trouble you with the enclosed letter from a Henry Watson, claiming prize moneys, as having served under Admiral Paul Jones, which, I suppose, should go to the treasury, or war office. I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE TREASURY.

PARIS, September 6, 1788.

GENTLEMEN,—Your favor of July the 3d, came to hand some days ago, and that of July the 22d, in the afternoon of yesterday. Knowing that a Mr. Vannet was to leave Paris this morning, to go to Virginia in a vessel bound from Havre to Potomac, I have

engaged him to receive the papers which are the subject of those letters; to take care of them from thence to Havre, and on the voyage; and when he shall have arrived in the Potomac, instead of going directly to Richmond, as he intended, he will proceed with them himself, to New York. I shall pay here, all expenses to their delivery at the ship's side in America, freight included; unless, perhaps, he may find it necessary to put another covering over them, if he should not be able to get them into the cabin; in this case, you will have to reimburse him for that. I engage to him, that you shall pay him their transportation from the ship's side to New York, and his own reasonable expenses from the place of his landing to New York, and back to the place of landing. As he takes that journey for this object only, it would be reasonable that you give him some gratuity for his time and trouble, and I suppose it would be accepted by him; but I have made no agreement for this. The papers are contained in a large box, and a trunk. They were sent here by Mr. Ast during my absence in Holland. When they arrived at the gates of Paris, the officers of the customs opened the trunk, to see whether it contained dutiable articles; but finding only books and papers, they concluded the contents of the box to be of the same nature, and did not open that. You receive it, therefore, as it came from the hands of Mr. Ast. A small trunk, which came as a third package from Mr. Ast, and which has never been opened, I have put into the great trunk, with-

out displacing, or ever having touched a single paper, except as far as was necessary, to make room for that. I shall have the whole corded and plumbed by the Custom house here, not only to prevent their being opened at the Custom houses on the road, and at the port of exportation, but to prove to you, whether they shall have been opened by anybody else, after going out of my hands. If the stamped leads are entire, and the cords uncut, when you receive them, you will be sure they have not been opened; they will be wrapt in oil cloth here, to guard them against the damps of the sea, and as I mentioned before, Mr. Vannet will put them under another covering, if he finds it necessary, at Havre.

At the same time with your last letter, I received from the office of Foreign Affairs, the ratification by Congress of the loan of 1788, for another million of guilders. As the necessity of this loan resulted from the estimate made by Mr. Adams and myself, which estimate was laid before Congress, I suppose their ratification of the loan, implies that of the estimate. One article of this was for the redemption of our captives at Algiers. Though your letter says nothing on this subject, I am in hopes you have sent orders to the commissioners of the loans at Amsterdam, to furnish, as soon as they shall have it, what may be necessary for this pressing call. So also for the foreign officers. If the ratification of the loan has been made by Congress, with a view to fulfil the objects of the estimate, a general order from you to

the commissioners of the loans at Amsterdam, to pay the moneys from time to time, according to that estimate, or to such other as you shall furnish them with, might save the trouble of particular orders on every single occasion, and the disappointments arising from the delay or miscarriage of such orders; but it is for you to decide on this.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect respect, Gentlemen, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO MR. RUTLEDGE.

PARIS, September 9, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—I have duly received your favors of August 30th and September 4th. The animal, whose skin you saw here, is called the Moose. Monsieur de Buffon had well known it by name; but he has supposed it to be the same as the Rennedeer of Lapland, in his history. Being satisfied myself that it was a different animal, I asked the favor of General Sullivan to have one killed for me, and to send me the skin and skeleton. This is what you saw, it is found only eastward of the Hudson river. M. de Buffon describes the Renne to be about three feet high, and truly, the Moose you saw here was seven feet high, and there are some of them ten feet high. The experiment was expensive to me, having cost me hunting, curing, and transporting, sixty guineas. The animal whose enormous bones are found on the

Ohio, is supposed by M. de Buffon and M. Daubenton to have been an Elephant. Dr. Hunter demonstrated it not to have been an Elephant. Similar bones are found in Siberia, where it is called the Mammoth. The Indians of America say it still exists very far north in our continent. I suppose there is no such thing at Geneva as a copy of my notes on Virginia, or you might see the subject treated there somewhat at length, as also some short notice of the Moose. I am glad to hear you have been so happy as to become acquainted with M. de Saussure. He is certainly one of the best philosophers of the present age. Cautious in not letting his assent run before his evidence, he possesses the wisdom which so few possess of preferring ignorance to error. The contrary disposition in those who call themselves philosophers in this country classes them in fact with the writers of romance. You have heard that Virginia has acceded to the new Constitution. New York has done the same by a majority of five. No news from North Carolina. Congress were proceeding early in July to put the new government into motion, probably it will be December or January before the new Legislature is assembled. Were I to trouble Mr. Shippen with a letter, I could only repeat the same things over again. Be so good as to say this to him, to deliver him the enclosed letter with my friendly compliments, and to accept yourself assurances of the esteem with which I am, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO MR. CUTTING.

PARIS, September 9, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 6th instant is just come to hand. To answer your quotations from the English papers by reversing every proposition, would be to give you the literal truth, but it would be tedious. To lump it by saying every tittle is false, would be just but unsatisfactory. I will take the middle course, and give you a summary of political information as far as possessed here on tolerably sure grounds. On the Baltic nothing of note since the first great action. That was pretty equal in loss, but rather favorable to the Russians in appearance, because they kept the field while the Swedes retired into port. Since that the Swedes have had a sixty-four gun ship, the Gustavus Adolphus, run ashore and burnt, and the crew captured by the Russians. Their fleet is rather confined within port, I believe we may say blocked up, by Admiral Greigh. On land there has been nothing but a petite guerre. The Swedes have failed in every enterprise. There is considerable discontent in the Swedish Senate and nation, because the King, contrary to their constitution, has commenced an *offensive war* without consulting the Senate. On the Black Sea nothing has happened since the first victory obtained by the Prince of Nassau and Paul Jones, and the second and third by the Prince of Nassau. The Captain Pacha has thrown himself into Oczakow, made a sortie, and

considerably discomfited the Russians. The particulars not known; but the siege continues. The Emperor's army has suffered much by sickness and desertion, but more by imbecility. He has certainly let a campaign pass over without doing anything. Denmark has notified Sweden and the other courts that she will furnish the stipulated aid to Russia. England and Prussia have offered their mediation, and Denmark is endeavoring to counterpoise their interference by getting this court to offer to join in the mediation. The ministerial revolution here is the Archbishop of Sens, and Mr. Lambert, gone out, and Mr. Neckar come in, in lieu of the last; nobody will succeed the former, that is to say there will be no premier. Probably M. de Brienne, minister of war, will go out, as his brother is out; and it may be doubted whether M. de Lamorignon will not also go. He is Garde de Sceaux, as you know; there is no present appearance of any other change. A bed of justice will be held within a few days to revoke all that was done in that of the 8th of May, and to recall the parliaments. The States General will be called in January, probably. The two camps of twenty-five thousand men each, in the north of France, are now assembling. They are commanded by the Prince of Condé and Duke de Broglio. This is the sum of affairs as far as can be affirmed with certainty. If anything remarkable still turns up before your departure, I will do myself the pleasure of writing to you. I am, with great esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO THE COUNT DE MONTMORIN.

PARIS, September 11, 1788.

SIR,—In the course of the last war, the house of Schweighauser and Dobrée, of Nantes, and Puchilberg of L'Orient, presented to Dr. Franklin a demand against the United States of America. He, being acquainted with the circumstances of the demand, and knowing it to be unfounded, refused to pay it. They thereupon procured seizure, by judiciary authority, of certain arms and other military stores which we had purchased in this country, and had deposited for embarkation at Nantes; and these stores have remained in that position ever since. Congress have lately instructed me to put an end to this matter. Unwilling to trouble your Excellency, whenever it can be avoided, I proposed to the parties to have the question decided by arbitrators, to be chosen by us jointly. They have refused it, as you will see by their answers to my letters, copies of both which I have the honor to enclose you. I presume it to be well settled in practice, that the property of one sovereign is not permitted to be seized within the dominions of another; and that this practice is founded not only in mutual respect, but in mutual utility. To what the contrary practice would lead, is evident in the present case, wherein military stores have been stopped, in the course of a war, in which our greatest difficulties proceeded from the want of military stores. In their letter, too, they make a

merit of not having seized one of our ships of war, and certainly, the principle which admits the seizure of arms, would admit that of a whole fleet, and would often furnish an enemy the easiest means of defeating an expedition. The parties obliging me, then, to have recourse to your Excellency on this occasion, I am under the necessity of asking an order from you, for the immediate delivery of the stores and other property of the United States, at Nantes, detained by the house of Schweighauser and Dobrée, and that of Puchilberg, or by either of them, under a pretence of a judicial seizure.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect respect and esteem, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO MONSIEUR DE REYNEVAL.

PARIS, September 16, 1788.

SIR,—I have the honor now to enclose you my observations on the alteration proposed in the consular convention. There remain only three articles of those heretofore in question between us, to which I am unable to agree; that is to say, the second, proposing still to retain personal immunities for the consuls, and others attached to their office; the eighth, proposing that the navigation code of each nation, shall be established in the territories of the other; and the ninth, insisting that the ship's roll shall be conclusive evidence, that a person belongs to the ship.

There are several new matters introduced into the draught; some of these are agreed to; others cannot be admitted, as being contrary to the same principles which had obliged me to disagree to some of the former articles. The greatest part of the eleventh, and the whole of the twelfth new articles, are in this predicament. They propose, that no person shall be arrested on board a merchant vessel, for any cause, but in presence of the consul; that no such vessel shall be visited, but in his presence; and that when the officers of justice have reason to believe that a criminal has taken refuge on board a vessel of war, the captain's word shall be conclusive evidence that he is not there.

To the objections which I had the honor of stating in my letter to his Excellency, the Count de Montmorin, I have now that of adding some other observations, of which I request your perusal. I enclose with them a draught, on the basis of the one you were pleased to give me, altered so as to reconcile it to the spirit of our laws.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO THE MARQUIS DE LA ROUERIE.

PARIS, September 16, 1788.

SIR,—On receiving the first letters which you did me the honor to write to me, on the arrears due to

you from the United States, I informed you that I had nothing to do in the money department; that the subject of your letters belonged altogether to the treasury board, and to Mr. Grand, their banker here, to the former of whom I forwarded your letters. As I felt an anxiety, however, that the foreign officers should be paid, I took the liberty of pressing the treasury board, from time to time, to exert themselves for that effect; and I availed myself of an opportunity which occurred last spring, of setting on foot measures, which, with their approbation, might furnish the means of effecting this payment. So far my information to you went, and I added a supposition, that the treasury board would probably give orders on the subject, in the course of the month of July. But I made you no promise; it would have been strange if I had; nor does my office, nor anything I have ever said or done, subject me to the demand of immediate payment, which you are pleased to make on me, nor call on me for any declaration or answer, positive or negative.

Finding that my interference, which was friendly only, and avowed to be inofficial, has given occasion to your letter of yesterday, in a style which I did not expect, and to which I can have no motive for further exposing myself, I must take the liberty of desiring that the correspondence between us on this subject, may cease. I presume that the certificate given you, points out the person, here or elsewhere, to whom your applications are to be made, and that he

will inform you when he receives orders on your subject. I am, Sir, your humble servant.

TO WILLIAM SHORT.

PARIS, September 20, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—The evening of your departure, a letter came by the way of London and New York, addressed to you, and probably from Virginia. I think you wished your American letters to remain here; I shall therefore keep it. The passport now enclosed, came the day after your departure; so also did a mass of American letters for me, as low down as August the 10th. I shall give you their substance. The convention of Virginia annexed to their ratification of the new Constitution a copy of the State declaration of rights, not by way of condition, but to announce their attachment to them. They added, also, propositions for specific alterations of the Constitution. Among these was one for rendering the President incapable of serving more than eight years, in any term of sixteen. New York has followed the example of Virginia, expressing the substance of her bill of rights, (that is Virginia's,) and proposing amendments: these last differ much from those of Virginia; but they concur as to the President, only proposing that he shall be incapable of being elected more than twice. But I own I should like better than either of these what Luther Martin tells us was repeatedly voted and adhered to by the federal convention, and

only altered about twelve days before their rising, when some members had gone off; to wit, that he should be elected for seven years, and incapable for ever after. But New York has taken another step, which gives uneasiness; she has written a circular letter to all the legislatures, asking their concurrence in an immediate convention for making amendments. No news yet from North Carolina. Electors are to be chosen the first Wednesday in January; the President to be elected the first Wednesday in February; the new legislature to meet the first week in March: the place is not yet decided on. Philadelphia was first proposed, and had six and a half votes; the half vote was Delaware, one of whose members wanted to take a vote on Wilmington; then Baltimore was proposed and carried, and afterwards rescinded, so that the matter stood open as ever on the 10th of August; but it was allowed the dispute lay only between New York and Philadelphia, and rather thought in favor of the last. The Rhode Island delegates had retired from Congress. Dr. Franklin was dangerously ill of the gout and stone on the 21st of July. My letters of August the 10th not mentioning him, I hope he was recovered. Warville, etc., were arrived. Congress had referred the decision, as to the independence of Kentucky, to the new government. Brown ascribes this to the jealousy of the northern States, who want Vermont to be received at the same time, in order to preserve a balance of interests in Congress. He was just set-

ting out for Kentucky, disgusted, yet disposed to persuade to an acquiescence, though doubting they would immediately separate from the Union. The principal obstacle to this, he thought, would be the Indian war.

The following is a quotation from a letter from Virginia, dated July the 12th: "P——n, though much impaired in health, and in every respect in the decline of life, showed as much zeal to carry the new Constitution as if he had been a young man; perhaps more than he discovered, in the commencement of the late revolution, in his opposition to Great Britain. W——e acted as chairman to the committee of the whole, and, of course, took but little part in the debate; but was for the adoption, relying on subsequent amendments. B——r said nothing, but was for it. The G——r exhibited a curious spectacle to view. Having refused to sign the paper, everybody supposed him against it; but he afterwards had written a letter, and having taken a part, which might be called rather vehement than active, he was constantly laboring to show that his present conduct was consistent with that letter, and that letter with his refusal to sign. M—d—n took the principal share in the debate for it; in which, together with the aid I have already mentioned, he was somewhat assisted by I—nn—s, Lee, M——l, C——n and G. N——s. M—s—n, H——y and Gr——n, were the principal supporters of the opposition. The discussion, as might be expected, where the parties

were so nearly on a balance, was conducted generally with great order, propriety and respect of either party to the other."

The assembly of Virginia, hurried to their harvests, would not enter into a discussion of the district bill, but suspended it to the next session. E. Winston is appointed a judge, vice Gabriel Jones resigned. R. Goode and Andrew Moore, Counsellors, vice B. Starke dead, and Joseph Egglestone resigned. It is said Wilson, of Philadelphia, is talked of, to succeed Mr. A. in London. *Quære?*

The dispute about Virgil's tomb and the laurel, seems to be at length settled by the testimony of two travellers, given separately, and without a communication with each other. These both say, that attempting to pluck off a branch of the laurel, it followed their hand, being, in fact, nothing more than a plant or bough, recently cut and stuck in the ground for the occasion. The Cicerone acknowledged the roguery, and said they practised it with almost every traveller to get money. You will, of course, tug well at the laurel which shall be shown you, to see if this be the true solution.

The President Dupaty is dead. Monsieur de Barentin, *premier president de la cour des aides*, is appointed Garde des Sceaux. The stocks are rather lower than when you left this. Present me in the most friendly terms to Messrs. Shippen and Rutledge. I rely on your communicating to them the news, and therefore on their pardoning me for not

repeating it in separate letters to them. You can satisfy them how necessary this economy of my time and labor is. This goes to Geneva, *poste restante*. I shall not write again till you tell me where to write to.

Accept very sincere assurances of the affection with which I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, September 24, 1788.

SIR,—Understanding that the vessel is not yet sailed from Havre, which is to carry my letters of the 3d and 5th instant, I am in hopes you will receive the present with them. The Russian accounts of their victories on the Black Sea, must have been greatly exaggerated. According to these, the Captain Pacha's fleet was annihilated; yet themselves have lately brought him on the stage again, with fifteen ships of the line, in order to obtain another victory over him. I believe the truth to be that he has suffered some checks, of what magnitude it is impossible to say where one side alone is heard, and that he is still master of that sea. He has relieved Oczakow, which still holds out; Choczim also is still untaken, and the Emperor's situation is apprehended to be bad. He spun his army into a long cord, to cover several hundred miles of frontier, which put it in the power of the Turks to attack with their whole force wherever they pleased. Laudon, now called to head

the imperial army, is endeavoring to collect it; but in the meantime the campaign is drawing to a close, and has been worse than fruitless. The resistance of Russia to Sweden, has been successful in every point, by sea and land. This, with the interference of Denmark, and the discontent of the Swedish nation, at the breach of their constitution, by the King's undertaking an offensive war, without the consent of the Senate, has obliged him to withdraw his attacks by land, and to express a willingness for peace; one-third of his officers have refused to serve. England and Prussia have offered their mediation between Sweden and Russia, in such equivocal terms, as to leave themselves at liberty to say it was an offer, or was not, just as it shall suit them. Denmark is asking the counter-offer of mediation from this court. If England and Prussia make a peace effectually in the north, (which it is absolutely in their power to do,) it will be a proof they do not intend to enter into the war; if they do not impose a peace, I should suspect they mean to engage themselves; as one can hardly suppose they would let the war go on in its present form, wherein Sweden must be crushed between Russia and Denmark.

The Garde des Sceaux, M. de Lamoignon, was dismissed the 14th instant, and M. de Barentin is appointed in his room. The deputies of Bretagne are released from the Bastile, and M. d'Epermesnil and M. Sabatier recalled from their confinement.

The parliament is not yet reinstated; but it is confidently said it will be this week. The stocks continue low, and the treasury under a hard struggle to keep the government in motion. It is believed the meeting of the States General will be as early as January, perhaps December. I have received a duplicate of the ratification of the loan of 1788, by Congress, and a duplicate of a letter of July the 22d, from the treasury board, on another subject, but none on that of the captives or foreign officers. I suppose some cause of delay must have intervened between the ratification of Congress, and the consequent orders of the Treasury Board. I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO MR. SHIPPEN.

PARIS, September 29, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 22d is just received. My occupations obliging me to economize my time and labor, where it can be done, I have, since your departure, addressed either yourself or Mr. Rutledge singly, hoping your goodness would excuse my writing to either for both. In like manner, I have lately written to Mr. Short for all three. I now take the liberty of addressing you for the triumvirate. No news yet from North Carolina; but in such a case no news is good news, as an unfavorable decision of

the 12th State would have flown like an electrical shock through America and Europe. A letter from Governor Rutledge of August 10th, says nothing of North Carolina; this silence is a proof that all was well. That convention was to meet July 23d, and not July 4th, as we had been told. A dispute is excited in Philadelphia which is likely to make a noise. Oswald, the printer, being sued, published something in his own paper relative to the cause. It was construed by the judges a contempt of the court. They made a rule against him to show cause why he should not be attached. He appeared, the attachment was awarded, and he called on to answer interrogatories. He refused to answer interrogatories. The court gave him till next morning to consider. He appeared then, and still refused. By that time, however, it would seem as if the court themselves had considered better of it, for their counsel (I suspect it was W——n), declared it was never the intention of the court to compel him to answer interrogatories, and accordingly, without proposing any, or hearing his counsel, they committed him to prison for one month, and fined him ten pounds. Hereupon petitions were signed, one to the Executive to pardon Oswald, the other to the Legislature to punish the judges. The news of this country since my letter to Mr. Short, is that the Bretagne deputies are recalled from the Bastile, and d'Epermesnil and Sabatier from their prisons; the *états généraux* are to meet in the course of January,

the court keeping the day of the month still in reserve; the parliament has returned to its functions by permission. Their first arreté has been to demand the *états généraux* in the form of 1614. Here the cloven hoof begins to appear. While the existence of parliament itself was endangered by the royal authority, they were calling for the *états généraux;* now they obtained a kind of victory, they see danger to themselves from those very *états généraux*, and determine to have them in a form which will neither merit nor command the confidence of the nation, or to prepare a ground for combatting their authority if they should be well-composed, and should propose a reformation of the parliaments. I will, immediately, according to the desire you are pleased to express, send a French copy of the notes on Virginia to the Syndic Cayla. M. Tronchin goes there himself this week. I am very sorry you are obliged to abridge your tour. With respect to your route from Milan to London, on which you were pleased to consult me, I would certainly prefer Genoa, thence along the coast to Nice, (absolutely by land, in defiance of all the persuasions you will be exposed to go by water,) thence to Toulon and Marseilles. There it will depend on your time, whether you will go by Nismes, the canal of Languedoc (in the post boat), Bordeaux, Paris and Calais, or whether you must come on directly from Marseilles to Paris and Calais. But even in the latter case, make the small deviation to Nismes, to see the most

perfect remains of antiquity which exist on earth. My absence from Paris becomes more doubtful than it was. I had hoped to go to Champagne to see the vintage. I am not certain now that my business will permit it in every case; letters sent to me here will be properly forwarded. Present my affectionate regards to your two travelling companions, and be assured of the esteem and attachment with which I am sincerely, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and servant.

TO MONSIEUR DE REYNEVAL.

PARIS, October 1, 1788.

SIR,—I have now the honor of enclosing to you a copy of the letter of September the 16th, which I had that of writing to his Excellency the Count de Montmorin, with the papers therein referred to, and of soliciting the order I have asked for. The originals were sent at the date before mentioned. Notwithstanding the refusal of the houses of Schweighauser and Dobrée, and of Puchilberg, to settle their claim against the United States by arbitration, as I proposed to them, the United States will still be ready to do them justice. But those houses must first retire from the only two propositions they have ever yet made, to wit, either a payment of their demand without discussion, or a discussion before the tribunals of the country. In the meantime, I shall hope an acknowledgment with respect to us, of

the principle which holds as to other nations; that our public property here, cannot be seized by the territorial judge. It is the more interesting to us, as we shall be more and longer exposed than other nations, to draw arms and military stores from Europe. Our preference of this country, has occasioned us to draw them from hence alone, since the peace; and the friendship we have constantly experienced from the government, will, we doubt not, on this and every other occasion, insure to us the protection of what we purchase. I have the honor to be, Sir, your friend and servant.

TO MR. CUTTING.

PARIS, Oct. 2, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—I am now to acknowledge the receipt of your favors of the 16th and 23d ultimo, and to thank you for the intelligence they conveyed. That respecting the case of the interrogatories in Pennsylvania, ought to make a noise. So evident a heresy in the common law, ought not to be tolerated on the authority of two or three civilians, who happened, unfortunately, to make authority in the courts of England. I hold it essential, in America, to forbid that any English decision which has happened since the accession of Lord Mansfield to the bench, should ever be cited in a court; because, though there have come many good ones from him, yet there is so much sly poison instilled into a great part of them, that it

is better to proscribe the whole. Can you inform me what has been done by England, on the subject of our wheat and flour? The papers say it is prohibited, even in Hanover. How do their whale fisheries turn out this year? I hope a deep wound will be given them in that article, soon, and such as will leave us in no danger from their competition. * *

I am, with very great esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE COUNT DE MONTMORIN.

PARIS, October 23, 1788.

SIR,—I take the liberty of troubling your Excellency on the subject of the *Arret* which has lately appeared for prohibiting the importation of whale oil and spermaceti, the produce of foreign fisheries. This prohibition being expressed in general terms, seems to exclude the whale oils of the United States of America, as well as of the nations of Europe. The uniform disposition, however, which his majesty and his ministers have shown to promote the commerce between France and the United States, by encouraging our productions to come hither, and particularly those of our fisheries, induces me to hope that these were not within their view at the passing of this *Arret*. I am led the more into this opinion, when I recollect the assiduity employed for several months, in the year 1785, by the committee appointed by government to investigate the objects of commerce of the

two countries, and to report the encouragement of which it was susceptible. The result of that investigation, which his Majesty's Comptroller General did me the honor to communicate in a letter of the 22d of October, 1786, stating therein the principles which should be established for the future regulation of that commerce, and particularly distinguishing the article of whale oils by an abatement of the duties on them for the present, and a promise of farther abatement after the year 1790. The thorough re-investigation with which Monsieur de Lambert honored this subject, when the letter of 1786 was to be put into the form of an *Arret*, that *Arret* itself bearing date the 29th of December last, which ultimately confirmed the abatement of duty, present and future, and Hord declared that his Majesty reserved himself to grant other favors to that production, if, on further information, he shall find it for the interest of the two nations;—and finally, the letter in which M. Lambert did me the honor to enclose the *Arret*, and to assure me that the duties which had been levied on our whale oils contrary to the intention of our letter of 1786, should be restored. On a review of all these circumstances, I cannot but presume that it has not been intended to reverse in a moment views so maturely digested and uniformly pursued; and that the general expressions of the *Arret* of September the 28th, had within their contemplation the nations of Europe only. This presumption is further strengthened by having observed that in the treaties

of commerce, made since the epoch of our independence, the *jura gentis amici* form conceded to other nations, are expressly restrained to those of the most favored European nations: his Majesty wisely foreseeing that it would be expedient to regulate the commerce of a nation, which brings nothing but raw materials to employ the industry of his subjects, very differently from that of the European nations, who bring mostly what has already passed through all the stages of manufacture. On these considerations, I take the liberty of asking information from your Excellency as to the intent of the late *Arret;* and if I have not been mistaken in supposing it did not mean to abridge that of December 29th, I would solicit an explanatory *Arret*, to prevent the misconstructions of it which will otherwise take place. It is much to be desired, too, that this explanation could be given as soon as possible, in order that it may be handed out with the *Arret* of September 28th. Great alarm will otherwise be spread among the merchants and adventurers in the fisheries; who, confiding in the stability of regulations, which his Majesty's wisdom had so long and well matured, have embarked their fortunes in speculations in this branch of business. The importance of the subject to one of the principal members of our Union, induces me to attend with great anxiety a re-assurance from your Excellency that no change has taken place in his Majesty's views on this subject; and that his dispositions to multiply, rather than diminish

the combinations of interest between the two people, continue unaltered.

Commerce is slow in changing its channel. That between this country and the United States is as yet but beginning, and this beginning has received some checks. The *Arret* in question would be a considerable one, without the explanations I have the honor to ask. I am persuaded that a continuation of the dispositions which have been hitherto manifested towards us, will ensure effects, political and commercial, of value to both nations.

I have had too many proofs of the friendly interest your Excellency is pleased to take in whatever may strengthen the bands and connect the views of the two countries, to doubt your patronage of the present application, or to pretermit any occasion of repeating assurances of those sentiments of high respect and esteem with which I have the honor to be, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO MR. SHORT.

PARIS, November 2, 1788.

DEAR SIR,— * * * * * * *

Our news from America is to the beginning of October. Pennsylvania had elected its two Senators for the new government, Robert Morris and a Mr. Maclay. Morris had an arrival from China worth £150,000. An ill-understanding between Mr.

Adams and Mr. Hancock, both proposed as Vice-Presidents, and every State likely to bring forward a candidate of their own, in which case, you know, the Senate will choose from among those possessing the greatest number of votes, if there be an equality of votes. A general hail storm about the 26th of August has done great mischief from New Hampshire to Virginia. It occasioned the price of tobacco there immediately to rise to 30*s*. The King of England has for some time been at death's door. His disease is dropsical, tending to the head. A perpetual delirium, with rare and doubtful lucid intervals, makes it strongly believed to be a regular hydrocephalus, in which case the skilful pronounce either his death or insanity. The parliament was to meet yesterday on its prorogation, and it was under contemplation that they should establish a regency. Here, the Notables are in session, but they have deservedly lost their popularity. It is evident that the court wishes to give to the Tiers État a double number of votes. The bureau of Monsieur voted this by a majority of one voice only. The other bureau rejected it almost unanimously. There is a great outcry against this, and the friends of the people and of justice will try the question over again in an assembly of all the bureaux—but there seem no hopes of success. This is the first event which has shown that there will be a combination of the nobles and clergy, and consequently it will throw the people decidedly into the scale of the King. This may end

in liberty or despotism, at his will. I think that both he and his ministry are in favor of liberty, and that having twenty-three millions and a half of the people on their side, they will call the other half million to order, and show them that instead of being two thirds of the nation, they are but the forty-eighth.

TO MR. CUTTING.

PARIS, November 3, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—I have now the honor to acknowledge your favors of the 30th of September, 5th, 6th, 7th and 17th of October, which I should have done sooner, but that there was no new occurrence well ascertained and worth communicating. I think it now pretty certain that an alliance is entered into between England, Prussia, and Sweden, to which Holland is to accede, so as to make it quadruple. The Prussian army is on its march towards Holstein, under the command of Prince Frederick of Brunswick; a poor head. There is also said to be an army of 60,000 Prussians in Silesia, ready to overawe Poland, should it take side with Russia. Of this last fact, however, I am not sure. It would seem, then, as if Prussia meant to enter into the war, or is it only to induce Denmark to withdraw and leave Russia and Sweden to fight their own battles? If it does not produce this effect, will England lie by, and only engage in case France should move? These are

points uncertain as yet. One thing is certain: that this country will make no move which may engage her in war, till after her *états généraux*. The Notables meet on Thursday next, to decide on the form of composing and calling the *états généraux*. What will be their form, cannot yet be foreseen; much less what they will do. They will undoubtedly give money to the government, but probably for a short time, and make it the price of some concessions from the King for limiting his own rights, and enlarging those of the nation. They will surely provide for the regular convocation of the States General in future. Other things talked of, are a bill of rights, habeas corpus civil list, and a negative at least on legislative acts. The kingdom has been in the most perfect tranquillity since the announcing the States General for January. I doubt, however, the possibility of convoking them so soon.

Prince Henry of Russia arrived here the day before yesterday. Remarkable deaths are the Marshal de Biron and Marquis de Chastellux.

Nobody wishes more sincerely than I do to see the States, individually as well as collectively, extricate themselves from their debts. But having, in the letters I formerly gave you for South Carolina, said as much on that subject as prudence would permit me, I am afraid to add anything more. I thank you for your information on the subject of the whale fishery. After the hint I gave you, you would not expect to see the *Arret* of September 26th. I cannot

now explain it to you, nor tell you with certainty in what form it will finally rest as to us. I am, with very great esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO MR. DUMAS.

PARIS, November 3, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—I have duly received your favors of the 10th and 23d of October, and sincerely sympathize with you in your sufferings, without being able to relieve them. Nor can I even conjecture what Congress will decide as to the Brussels proposition. I should be puzzled myself to suggest anything better at this moment.

You have doubtless heard that North Carolina has thought it best to propose amendments to the new Constitution before acceding to it. She has no disposition to separate from the Union, even if no amendments be made, as she has not come to a negative decision, but left the matter open. So many States have desired alterations, that I suppose those will be made in which almost all have agreed. A bill of rights will comprehend most of them. In the meantime, the new government will go on.

The Notables meet at Versailles the day after to-morrow, to decide on the composition and convocation of the States General. Till the States shall meet, this country will probably not take any measure which may engage it in a war. In the meantime,

the King of Prussia seems itching to be engaged. He calculates only on the torpitude of the present moment in which France is: he does not seem to take into account the difference between his head and the late King's. This may be equal, perhaps, to half his army. I have the honor to be, with great esteem and attachment, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, November 14, 1788.

SIR,—In my letter of December the 21st, 1787, I had the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your two favors of July the 27th, 1787, which had come to my hands December the 19th, and brought with them my full powers for treating on the subject of the consular convention. Being then much engaged in getting forward the *Arret* which came out on the 29th of December, and willing to leave some interval between that act and the solicitation of a reconsideration of our consular convention, I had declined mentioning it, for some time, and was just about to bring it on the carpet, when it became necessary for me to go to Amsterdam. Immediately after my return, which was about the last of April, I introduced the subject to the Count de Montmorin, and have followed it unremittingly, from that time. The office of Marine, as well as that of Foreign Affairs, being to be consulted in all the stages of the negotiation, has

protracted its conclusion till this time; it is at length signed this day, and I have now the honor to enclose the original, for the ratification of Congress. The principal changes effected are the following:

The clauses of the Convention of 1784, clothing consuls with privileges of the law of nations, are struck out, and they are expressly subjected, in their persons and property, to the laws of the land.

That giving the right of sanctuary to their houses, is reduced to a protection of their chancery room and its papers.

Their coercive powers over passengers are taken away; and over those, whom they might have termed deserters of their nation, are restrained to deserted seamen only.

The clause, allowing them to arrest and send back vessels, is struck out, and instead of it, they are allowed to exercise a police over the ships of their nation generally.

So is that, which declared the indelibility of the character of the subject, and the explanation and extension of the eleventh article of the treaty of amity.

The innovations in the laws of evidence are done away; and the convention is limited to twelve years' duration. Convinced that the fewer examples, the better, of either persons or causes unamenable to the laws of the land, I could have wished still more had been done; but more could not be done, with good humor. The extensions of authority given

by the convention of 1784, were so homogeneous with the spirit of this government, that they were prized here. Monsieur de Reyneval has had the principal charge of arranging this instrument with me; and, in justice to him, I must say, I could not have desired more reasonable and friendly dispositions, than he demonstrated through the whole of it.

I enclose herewith, the several schemes successively proposed between us, together with the copies of the written observations given in with them, and which served as texts of discussion, in our personal conferences. They may serve as a commentary on any passage which may need it, either now or hereafter, and as a history how any particular passage comes to stand as it does. No. 1, is the convention of 1784. No. 2, is my first scheme. No. 3, theirs in answer to it. No. 4, my next, which brought us so near together, that, in a conference on that, we arranged it in the form in which it has been signed. I add No. 5, the copy of a translation which I have put into their hands, with a request, that if they find any passages in which the sense of the original is not faithfully rendered, they will point them out to me; otherwise, we may consider it as having their approbation. This, and the convention of 1784 (marked No. 1), are placed side by side, so as to present to the eye, with less trouble, the changes made; and I enclose a number of printed copies of them, for the use of the members, who will have to

decide on the ratification. It is desirable that the ratification should be sent here for exchange, as soon as possible.

With respect to the consular appointments, it is a duty on me to add some observations, which my situation here has enabled me to make. I think it was in the spring of 1784, that Congress (harassed by multiplied applications from foreigners, of whom nothing was known but on their own information, or on that of others as unknown as themselves) came to a resolution, that the interest of America would not permit the naming any person not a citizen, to the office of consul, vice-consul, agent or commissary. This was intended as a general answer to that swarm of foreign pretenders. It appears to me, that it will be best, still to preserve a part of this regulation. *Native* citizens, on several valuable accounts, are preferable to aliens, and to citizens alien-born. They possess our language, know our laws, customs, and commerce; have, generally, acquaintance in the United States; give better satisfaction, and are more to be relied on, in point of fidelity. Their disadvantages are, an imperfect acquaintance with the language of this country, and an ignorance of the organization of its judicial and executive powers, and consequent awkwardness, whenever application to either of these is necessary, as it frequently is. But it happens, that in some of the principal ports of France, there is not a single American (as in Marseilles,

L'Orient, and Havre), in others but one (as in Nantes and Rouen), and in Bordeaux only, are there two or three. Fortunately for the present moment, most of these are worthy of appointments. But we should look forward to future times, when there may happen to be no native citizens in a port, but such as, being bankrupt, have taken asylum in France from their creditors, or young ephemeral adventurers in commerce, without substance or conduct, or other descriptions, which might disgrace the consular office, without protecting our commerce. To avail ourselves of our good *native citizens*, when we have one in a port, and when there are none, to have yet some person to attend to our affairs, it appears to me advisable, to declare, by a standing law, that no person but a native citizen shall be capable of the office of *consul*, and that the consul's presence in his port should suspend, for the time, the functions of the vice-consul. This is the rule of 1784, restrained to the office of *consul*, and to *native* citizens. The establishing this, by a standing law, will guard against the effect of particular applications, and will shut the door against such applications, which will otherwise be numerous. This done, the office of vice-consul may be given to the best subject in the port, whether citizen or alien, and that of consul be kept open for any native citizen of superior qualifications, who might come afterwards to establish himself in the port. The functions of the vice-consul would

become dormant during the presence of his principal, come into activity again on his departure, and thus spare us and them, the painful operation of revoking and reviving their commissions perpetually. Add to this, that during the presence of the consul, the vice-consul would not be merely useless, but would be a valuable counsellor to his principal, new in the office, the language, laws and customs of the country. Every consul and vice-consul should be restrained in his jurisdiction, to the port for which he is named, and the territory nearer to that than to any other consular or vice-consular port, and no idea be permitted to arise, that the grade of consul gives a right to any authority whatever over a vice-consul, or draws on any dependence.

* * * * * * * * *

It is now proper I should give some account of the state of our dispute with Schweighauser and Dobrée. In the conversation I had with Dobrée at Nantes, he appeared to think so rationally on the subject, that I thought there would be no difficulty in accommodating it with him, and I wished rather to settle it by accommodation, than to apply to the minister. I afterwards had it intimated to him, through the medium of Mr. Carnes, that I had it in idea, to propose a reference to arbitrators. He expressed a cheerful concurrence in it. I thereupon made the proposition to him formally, by letter, mentioning particularly, that we would choose our arbitrators of some neutral nation, and, of

preference, from among the Dutch refugees here. I was surprised to receive an answer from him, wherein, after expressing his own readiness to accede to this proposition, he added, that on consulting Mr. Puchilberg, he had declined it; nevertheless, he wished a fuller explanation from me, as to the subjects to be submitted to arbitration. I gave him that explanation, and he answered finally, that Mr. Puchilberg refused all accommodation, and insisted that the matter should be decided by the tribunals of the country. Accommodation being at an end, I wrote to Monsieur de Montmorin, and insisted on the usage of nations, which does not permit the effects of one sovereign to be seized in the territories of another, and subjected to judiciary decision there. I am promised that the stores shall be delivered; but the necessary formalities will occasion some delay. The King being authorized to call all causes before himself, ours will be evoked from the tribunal where it is, and will be ended by an order to deliver up the stores arrested, leaving it to the justice of Congress, to do afterwards what is right, as to the demand of Schweighauser and Dobrée. I wish I could receive instructions what to do with the stores, when delivered. The arms had certainly better be sent to America, as they are good, and yet will sell here for little or nothing. The gun stocks and old iron had better be sold here; but what should be done with the anchors? Being thoroughly persuaded that Congress wish that sub-

stantial justice should be done to Schweighauser and Dobrée, I shall, after the stores are secured, repeat my proposition of arbitration to them. If they then refuse it, I shall return all the papers to America, and consider my powers for settling this matter as at an end.

I have received no answer yet from Denmark, on the subject of the prizes; nor do I know whether to ascribe this silence to an intention to evade the demand, or to the multitude of affairs they have had on their hands lately. Patience seems to be prudence in this case; to indispose them, would do no good, and might do harm. I shall write again soon, if no answer be received in the meantime.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

[The following is the translation of the convention referred to as No. 5, in the preceding letter.]

Convention between his most Christian Majesty and the United States of America, for the purpose of defining and establishing the functions and privileges of their respective Consuls and vice-Consuls.

His Majesty and most Christian King, and the United States of America, having, by the twenty-ninth article of the treaty of amity and commerce concluded between them, mutually granted the

liberty of having, in their respective States and ports, Consuls, vice-Consuls, Agents and Commissaries, and being willing, in consequence thereof, to define and establish in a reciprocal and permanent manner, the functions and privileges of Consuls and vice-Consuls, which they have judged it convenient to establish of preference, his M. C. Majesty has nominated the Sieur Count of Montmorin of St. Herent, Marechal of his Camps and Armies, Knight of his Orders and of the Golden Fleece, his Counsellor in all his Councils, Minister and Secretary of State, and of his Commandments and Finances, having the department of foreign affairs, and the United States have nominated Thomas Jefferson, of the United States of America, and their Minister Plenipotentiary near the King, who after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, have agreed on what follows:

Article I. The Consuls and vice-Consuls named by the M. C. K. and the United States, shall be bound to present their commissions according to the forms which shall be established respectively by the M. C. K. within his dominions, and by the Congress within the United States, there shall be delivered to them, without any charges, the Exequatur necessary for the exercise of their functions; and on exhibiting the said Exequatur, the governors, commanders, heads of justice, bodies corporate, tribunals and other officers having authority in the ports and places of their consulates, shall cause them

to enjoy immediately, and without difficulty, the pre-eminences, authority and privileges, reciprocally granted, without exacting from the said Consuls and vice-Consuls any fee under any pretext whatever.

Article II. The Consuls and vice-Consuls, and persons attached to their functions, that is to say, their chancellors and secretaries, shall enjoy a full and entire immunity for their chancery and the papers which shall be therein contained; they shall be exempt from all personal service, from soldiers' billets, militia, watch, guard, guardianship, trusteeship, as well as from all duties, taxes, impositions, and charges whatsoever, except on the estate real and personal of which they may be the proprietors or possessors, which shall be subject to the taxes imposed on the estates of all other individuals; and in all other instances, they shall be subject to the laws of the land, as the natives are.

Those of the said Consuls and vice-Consuls who shall exercise commerce, shall be respectively subject to all taxes, charges and impositions established on other merchants.

They shall place over the outward door of their house the arms of their sovereign; but this mark of indication shall not give to the said house, any privilege of asylum for any person or property whatsoever.

Article III. The respective Consuls and vice-Consuls may establish agents in the different ports and places of their departments, where necessity shall

require. These agents may be chosen among the merchants, either national or foreign, and furnished with a commission from one of the said Consuls; they shall confine themselves respectively to the rendering to their respective merchants, navigators, and vessels all possible service, and to inform the nearest Consul of the wants of the said merchants, navigators and vessels, without the said agents otherwise participating in the immunities, rights and privileges attributed to Consuls and vice-Consuls, and without power under any pretext whatever, to exact from the said merchants any duty or emolument whatsoever.

Article IV. The Consuls and vice-Consuls respectively, may establish a chancery, where shall be deposited the consular determinations, acts and proceedings, as also testaments, obligations, contracts, and other acts done by or between persons of their nation, and effects left by descendants, or saved from shipwreck.

They may, consequently, appoint fit persons to act in the said chancery, qualify and swear them in, commit to them the custody of the seal, and authority to seal commissions, sentences and other consular acts, and also to discharge the functions of notaries and registers of the consulate.

Article V. The Consuls and vice-Consuls respectively, shall have the exclusive right of receiving in their chancery, or on board their vessels, the declarations and all other the acts which the captains,

masters, crews, passengers and merchants of their nation may choose to make there, even their testaments and other disposals by last will; and the copies of the said acts, duly authenticated by the said Consuls or vice-Consuls, under the seal of their consulate, shall receive faith in law, equally as their originals would, in all the tribunals of the dominions of the M. C. King and the United States.

They shall also have, and exclusively, in case of the absence of the testamentary executor, guardian or lawful representative, the right to inventory, liquidate, and proceed to the sale of the personal estate left by subjects or citizens of their nation, who shall die within the extent of their consulate; they shall proceed therein with the assistance of two merchants of their said nation, or, for want of them, of any other at their choice, and shall cause to be deposited in their chancery, the effects and papers of the said estates; and no officer, military, judiciary, or of the police of the country, shall disturb them or interfere therein in any manner whatsoever; but the said Consuls and vice-Consuls shall not deliver up the said effects, nor the proceeds thereof, to the lawful representatives, or to their order, till they shall have caused to be paid all debts which the deceased shall have contracted in the country; for which purpose, the creditor shall have a right to attach the said effects in their hands, as they might in those of any other individual whatever, and proceed to obtain sale of them, till payment of what

shall be lawfully due to them. When the debts shall not have been contracted by judgment, deed or note, the signature whereof shall be known, payment shall not be ordered, but on the creditor's giving sufficient surety resident in that country, to refund the sums he shall have unduly received, principal, interest and costs; which surety, nevertheless, shall stand duly discharged after the term of one year, in time of peace, and of two, in time of war, if the discharge cannot be formed before the end of this term, against the representatives who shall present themselves.

And in order that the representatives may not be unjustly kept out of the effects of the deceased, the Consuls and vice-Consuls shall notify his death in some one of the gazettes published within their consulate, and that they shall retain the said effects in their hands four months, to answer all just demands which shall be presented; and they shall be bound, after this delay, to deliver to the persons succeeding thereto, what shall be more than sufficient for the demands which shall have been formed.

Article VI. The Consuls and vice-Consuls respectively, shall receive the declarations, protests and reports, of all captains and masters of their respective nations, on account of average losses sustained at sea; and these captains and masters shall lodge in the chancery of the said Consuls and vice-Consuls, the acts which they may have made in other ports, on account of the accidents which may have happened to them on their voyage. If a subject of the

M. C. K. and a citizen of the United States, or a foreigner, are interested in the said cargo, the average shall be settled by the tribunals of the country, and not by the Consuls or vice-Consuls; but when only the subjects or citizens of their own nation shall be interested, the respective Consuls or vice-Consuls shall appoint skilful persons to settle the damages and average.

Article VII. In cases where by tempest, or other accident, French ships or vessels shall be stranded on the coasts of the United States, and ships or vessels of the United States shall be stranded on the coasts of the dominions of the M. C. K., the Consul or vice-Consul nearest to the place of shipwreck shall do whatever he may judge proper, as well for the purpose of saving the said ship or vessel, its cargo and appurtenances, as for the storing and the security of the effects and merchandise saved. He may take an inventory of them, without the intermeddling of any officers of the military, of the customs, of justice, or of the police of the country, otherwise than to give the Consuls, vice-Consuls, captain and crew of the vessels shipwrecked or stranded, all the succor and favor which they shall ask of them, either for the expedition and security of the saving and of the effects saved, as to prevent all disturbance.

And in order to prevent all kind of dispute and discussion in the said cases of shipwreck, it is agreed that when there shall be no Consul or vice-Consul to

attend to the saving of the wreck, or that the residence of the said Consul or vice-Consul (he not being at the place of the wreck) shall be more distant from the said place than that of the competent judge of the country, the latter shall immediately proceed therein, with all the despatch, certainty and precautions, prescribed by the respective laws; but the said territorial judge shall retire, on the arrival of the Consul or vice-Consul, and shall deliver over to him the report of his proceedings, the expenses of which, the Consul or vice-Consul shall cause to be reimbursed to him, as well as those of saving the wreck.

The merchandise and effects saved, shall be deposited in the nearest Custom-house, or other place of safety, with the inventory thereof, which shall have been made by the Consul or vice-Consul, or by the judge who shall have proceeded in their absence, that the said effects and merchandise may be afterwards delivered (after levying therefrom the costs), and without form of process, to the owners, who, being furnished with an order for their delivery, from the nearest Consul or vice-Consul, shall reclaim them by themselves, or by their order, either for the purpose of re-exporting such merchandise, in which case they shall pay no kind of duty of exportation, or for that of selling them in the country, if they be not prohibited there; and in this last case, the said merchandise, if they be damaged, shall be allowed an abatement of entrance

duties, proportioned to the damage they have sustained, which shall be ascertained by the affidavits taken at the time the vessel was wrecked or struck.

Article VIII. The Consuls and vice-Consuls shall exercise police over all the vessels of their respective nations, and shall have on board the said vessels, all power and jurisdiction in civil matters, in all the disputes which may there arise; they shall have an entire inspection over the said vessels, their crew and the changes and substitutions there to be made. For which purpose, they may go on board the said vessels wherever they may judge it necessary; well understood, that the functions hereby allowed shall be confined to the interior of the vessels, and that they shall not take place in any case, which shall have any interference with the police of the ports where the said vessels shall be.

Article IX. The Consuls and vice-Consuls may cause to be arrested, the captains, officers, mariners, sailors, and all other persons, being part of the crews of the vessels of their respective nations, who shall have deserted from the said vessels, in order to send them back, and transport them out of the country. For which purpose, the said Consuls and vice-Consuls shall address themselves to the courts, judges and officers competent, and shall demand the said deserters in writing, proving by an exhibition of the registers of the vessel or ship's roll, that those men were part of the said crews; and on this demand, so proved (saving, however, where the contrary is

proved), the delivery shall not be refused; and there shall be given all aid and assistance to the said Consuls and vice-Consuls, for the search, seizure and arrest of the said deserters, who shall even be detained and kept in the prisons of the country, at their request and expense, until they shall have found an opportunity of sending them back. But if they be not sent back within three months, to be counted from the day of their arrest, they shall be set at liberty, and shall be no more arrested for the same cause.

Article X. In cases where the respective subjects or citizens shall have committed any crime, or breach of the peace, they shall be amenable to the judges of the country.

Article XI. When the said offenders shall be a part of the crew of a vessel of their nation, and shall have withdrawn themselves on board the said vessel, they may be there seized and arrested by order of the judges of the country; these shall give notice thereof to the Consul or vice-Consul, who may repair on board, if he thinks proper; but this notification shall not, in any case, delay execution of the order in question. The persons arrested, shall not afterwards be set at liberty, until the Consul or vice-Consul shall have been notified thereof; and they shall be delivered to him, if he requires it, to be put again on board of the vessels on which they were arrested, or of others of their nation, and to be sent out of the country.

Article XII. All differences and suits between the subjects of the M. C. K. in the U. S. or between the citizens of the United States within the dominions of the M. C. K. and particularly all disputes relative to the wages and terms of engagement of the crews of the respective vessels, and all differences of whatever nature they be, which may arise between the privates of the said crews, or between any of them and their captains, or between the captains of different vessels of their nation, shall be determined by the respective Consuls and vice-Consuls, either by a reference to arbitrators, or by a summary judgment, and without costs.

No officer of the country, civil or military, shall interfere therein, or take any part whatever in the matter; and the appeals from the said consular sentences, shall be carried before the tribunals of France or of the United States, to whom it may appertain to take cognizance thereof.

Article XIII. The general utility of commerce, having caused to be established within the dominions of the M. C. K. particular tribunals and forms, for expediting the decision of commercial affairs, the merchants of the U. S. shall enjoy the benefit of these establishments; and the Congress of the U. S. will provide in the manner the most conformable to its laws, equivalent advantages in favor of the French merchants, for the prompt despatch and decision of affairs of the same nature.

Article XIV. The subjects of the M. C. K. and

citizens of the U. S. who shall prove by legal evidence, that they are of the said nations respectively, shall, in consequence, enjoy an exemption from all personal service in the place of their settlement.

Article XV. If any other nation acquires, by virtue of any convention whatever, a treatment more favorable with respect to the consular pre-eminences, powers, authority and privileges, the Consuls and vice-Consuls of the M. C. K., or of the U. S. reciprocally, shall participate therein, agreeably to the terms stipulated by the second, third, and fourth articles of the treaty of amity and commerce, concluded between the M. C. K. and the U. S.

Article XVI. The present convention shall be in full force during the term of twelve years, to be counted from the day of the exchange of ratifications, which shall be given in proper form, and exchanged on both sides, within the space of one year, or sooner, if possible.

In faith whereof, we, Ministers Plenipotentiary, have signed the present convention, and have thereto set the seal of our arms.

Done at Versailles the 14th of November, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight.

L. C. De Montmorin. L. S. } Signed. { Th: Jefferson. L. S.

TO JAMES MADISON.

PARIS, November 18, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—My last to you was of the 31st July; since which, I have received yours of July the 24th, August the 10th and 23d. The first part of this long silence in me, was occasioned by a knowledge that you were absent from New York; the latter part, by a want of opportunity, which has been longer than usual. Mr. Shippen being just arrived here, and to set out to-morrow for London, I avail myself of that channel of conveyance. Mr. Carrington was so kind as to send me the second volume of the American Philosophical Transactions, the Federalist, and some other interesting pamphlets; and I am to thank you for another copy of the Federalist, and the report of the instructions to the ministers, for negotiating peace. The latter, unluckily, omitted exactly the passage I wanted, which was what related to the navigation of the Mississippi. With respect to the Federalist, the three authors had been named to me. I read it with care, pleasure and improvement, and was satisfied there was nothing in it by one of those hands, and not a great deal by a second. It does the highest honor to the third, as being, in my opinion, the best commentary on the principles of government, which ever was written. In some parts, it is discoverable that the author means only to say what may be best said in defence of opinions, in which he did not concur. But in gen-

eral, it establishes firmly the plan of government. I confess, it has rectified me on several points. As to the bill of rights, however, I still think it should be added; and I am glad to see, that three States have at length considered the perpetual re-eligibility of the President, as an article which should be amended. I should deprecate with you, indeed, the meeting of a new convention. I hope they will adopt the mode of amendment by Congress and the Assemblies, in which case, I should not fear any dangerous innovation in the plan. But the minorities are too respectable, not to be entitled to some sacrifice of opinion, in the majority; especially, when a great proportion of them would be contented with a bill of rights.

Here, things internally are going on well. The Notables now in session, have, indeed, passed one vote, which augurs ill to the rights of the people; but if they do not obtain now so much as they have a right to, they will in the long run. The misfortune is, that they are not yet ripe for receiving the blessings to which they are entitled. I doubt, for instance, whether the body of the nation, if they could be consulted, would accept of a habeas corpus law, if offered them by the King. If the *Etats généraux*, when they assemble, do not aim at too much, they may begin a good constitution. There are three articles which they may easily obtain: 1, their own meeting, periodically; 2, the exclusive right of taxation; 3, the right of registering laws

and proposing amendments to them, as exercised now by the parliaments. This last, would be readily approved by the court, on account of their hostility against the parliaments, and would lead immediately to the origination of laws; the second has been already solemnly avowed by the King; and it is well understood, there would be no opposition to the first. If they push at much more, all may fail. I shall not enter further into public details, because my letter to Mr. Jay will give them. That contains a request of permission to return to America, the next spring, for the summer only. The reasons therein urged, drawn from my private affairs, are very cogent. But there is another, more cogent on my mind, though of a nature not to be explained in a public letter. It is the necessity of attending my daughters, myself, to their own country, and depositing them safely in the hands of those with whom I can safely leave them. I have deferred this request as long as circumstances would permit, and am in hopes it will meet with no difficulty. I have had too many proofs of your friendship, not to rely on your patronage of it, as, in all probability, nothing can suffer by a short absence. But the *immediate* permission is what I am anxious about; as by going in April and returning in October, I shall be sure of pleasant and short passages, out and in. I must entreat your attention, my friend, to this matter, and that the answers may be sent me through several channels.

Mr. Limozin, at Havre, sent you, by mistake, a package belonging to somebody else. I do not know what it contained, but he has written to you on the subject, and prayed me to do the same; he is likely to suffer if it be not returned.

Supposing that the funding their foreign debt will be among the first operations of the new government, I send you two estimates; the one by myself, the other by a gentleman infinitely better acquainted with the subject, showing what fund will suffice to discharge the principal and interest, as it shall become due, aided by occasional loans, which the same fund will repay. I enclose them to you, because collating them together, and with your own ideas, you will be able to devise something better than either; but something must be done. This government will expect, I fancy, a very satisfactory provision for the payment of their debt, from the first session of the new Congress. Perhaps, in this matter, as well as the arrangement of your foreign affairs, I may be able, when on the spot with you, to give some information and suggest some hints, which may render my visit to my native country not altogether useless. I consider as no small advantage the resuming the tone of mind of my constituents, which is lost by long absence, and can only be recovered by mixing with them; and shall particularly hope for much profit and pleasure, by contriving to pass as much time as possible with you. Should you have a trip to Virginia in contem-

plation, for that year, I hope you will time it so as that we may be there together. I will camp you at Monticello, where, if illy entertained otherwise, you shall not want books. In firm hope of a happy meeting with you in the spring, or early in summer, I conclude with assurances of the sincere esteem and attachment with which I am, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and servant.

TO A. DONALD.

PARIS, November 18, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—Often solicited by persons on this side the water, to inquire for their friends in America, about whose fate they are uncertain, I can only hand on their requests to my friends in America. The enclosed letter from the Chevalier de Sigougne, desires some inquiry after his brother, whom he supposes to have settled at Todd's Bridge. As this is within your reach, I must refer the request to your humanity, and beg of you, if you can hear of him, you will be so good as to give me an account of him, returning me the enclosed letter at the same time.

The campaign between the Turks and Russians has been tolerably equal. The Austrians have suffered through the whole of it. By the interposition of Prussia and England, peace is likely to be made between Russia, Denmark, and Sweden. This is a proof that England does not mean to engage in

the war herself. This country will certainly engage herself in no manner, externally, before the meeting of her States General. This assembly has been so long disused, that the forms of its convocation occasion difficulty. The Notables have been convened to prescribe them, and they are now in session. I am in hopes this will end in giving a good degree of liberty to this country. They enjoy, at present, the most perfect tranquillity within; their stocks, however, continue low, and money difficult to be got for current expenses. It is hoped that Mr. Neckar's talents and popularity, with the aid of a National Assembly, will extricate them from their difficulties. We have been daily expecting to hear of the death of the King of England: our last news is of the 11th, when he was thought in the utmost danger. This event might produce a great change in the situation of things: it is supposed Mr. Fox would come into place, and he has been generally understood to be disposed for war. Should the King survive, I think the continuance of peace more probable at present, than it has been for some time past. Be so good as to contrive the enclosed letter by a very safe conveyance. Remember me in the most friendly terms to Dr. Currie, and be assured yourself of the esteem and attachment with which I am, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, November 19, 1788.

SIR,—Since my letter of September the 5th, wherein I acknowledged Mr. Remsen's favor of July the 25th, I have written those of September the 24th, and of the 14th instant. This last will accompany the present, both going by the way of London, for want of a direct opportunity; but they go by a private hand.

No late event worth notice has taken place between the Turks and Austrians. The former continue in the territories of the latter, with all the appearances of superiority. On the side of Russia, the war wears an equal force, except that the Turks are still masters of the Black Sea. Oczakow is not yet taken. Denmark furnished to Russia its stipulated quota of troops, with so much alacrity, and was making such other warlike preparations, that it was believed they meant to become principals in the war against Sweden. Russia and England hereupon interposed efficaciously. Their ministers appointed to mediate, gave notice to the court of Copenhagen, that they would declare war against them in the name of their two sovereigns, if they did not immediately withdraw their troops from the Swedish territories. The court of London has since said, that their minister (Elliot) went further in this than he was authorized. However, the Danish troops are retiring. Poland is augmenting its army from twenty to an

hundred thousand men. Nevertheless, it seems as if England and Prussia meant, in earnest, to stop the war in that quarter, contented to leave the two empires in the hands of the Turks. France, desired by Sweden to join the courts of London and Berlin in their mediation between Sweden and Russia, has declined it. We may be assured she will meddle in nothing external, before the meeting of the States General. Her temporary annihilation in the political scale of Europe, leaves to England and Prussia the splendid role of giving the law without meeting the shadow of opposition. The internal tranquillity of this country is perfect; their stocks, however, continue low, and the difficulty of getting money to face current expenses, very great. In the contest between the King and parliament, the latter, fearing the power of the former, passed the convoking the States General. The government found itself obliged by other difficulties, also to recur to the same expedient. The parliament, after its recall, showed that it was now become apprehensive of the States General, and discovered a determination to cavil at their form, so as to have a right to deny their legality, if that body should undertake to abridge their powers. The court, hereupon, very adroitly determined to call the same Notables who had been approved by the nation the last year, to decide on the form of convoking the *Etats généraux:* thus withdrawing itself from the disputes which the parliament might excite, and committing them with

the nation. The Notables are now in session. The government had manifestly discovered a disposition that the Tiers État, or Commons, should have as many representatives in the States General as the Nobility and Clergy together; but five *bureaux* of the Notables have voted by very great majorities, that they should have only an equal number with each of the other orders, singly. One *bureau*, by a majority of a single voice, had agreed to give the Commons the double number of representatives. This is the first symptom of a decided combination between the Nobility and Clergy, and will necessarily throw the people into the scale of the King. It is doubted whether the States can be called so early as January, though the government, urged by the want of money, is for pressing the convocation. It is still more uncertain, what the States will do when they meet: there are three objects which they may attain, probably without opposition, from the court: 1, a periodical meeting of the States; 2, their exclusive rights of taxation; 3, the right of enregistering laws and proposing amendments to them, as now exercised by the parliaments. This would lead, as it did in England, to the right of originating laws. The parliament would, by the last measure, be reduced to a mere judiciary body, and would probably oppose it. But against the King and nation, their opposition could not succeed. If the States stop here, for the present moment, all will probably end well, and they may, in future sessions,

obtain a suppression of *lettres de cachet*, a free press, a civil list, and other valuable modifications of their government. But it is to be feared, that an impatience to rectify everything at once, which prevails in some minds, may terrify the court, and lead them to appeal to force, and to depend on that alone.

Before this can reach you, you will probably have heard of an *Arret*, passed the 28th of September, for prohibiting the introduction of foreign whale oils, without exception. The English had glutted the markets of this country with their oils: it was proposed to exclude them, and an *Arret* was drawn, with an exception for us: in the last stage of the *Arret*, the exception was struck out, without my having any warning, or even suspicion of this. I suspect this stroke came from the Count de La Luzerne, minister of marine; but I cannot affirm it positively. As soon as I was apprized of this, which was several days after it passed (because it was kept secret till published in their seaports), I wrote to the Count de Montmorin a letter, of which the enclosed is a copy, and had conference on the subject, from time to time, with him and the other ministers. I found them prepossessed by the partial information of their Dunkirk fishermen; and therefore thought it necessary to give them a view of the whole subject in writing, which I did: in the place of which, I enclose you a printed copy. I therein entered into more details, than the question between us seemed rigorously to require. I was led to them by other

objects. The most important was, to disgust Mr. Neckar, as an economist, against their new fishery, by letting him foresee its expense. The particular manufactures suggested to them, were in consequence of repeated applications from the shippers of rice and tobacco; other details which do not appear immediately pertinent, were occasioned by circumstances which had arisen in conversation, or an apparent necessity of giving information on the whole matter. At a conference, in the presence of M. Lambert, on the 16th (where I was ably aided by the Marquis de La Fayette, as I have been through the whole business), it was agreed to except us from the prohibition. But they will require rigorous assurance, that the oils coming under our name, are really of our fishery. They fear we shall cover the introduction of the English oils from Halifax. The *Arret* for excepting us was communicated to me, but the formalities of proving the oils to be American, were not yet inserted. I suppose they will require every vessel to bring a certificate from their consul or vice-consul, residing in the State from which it comes. More difficult proofs were sometimes talked of. I supposed I might surely affirm to them, that our government would do whatever it could to prevent this fraud, because it is as much our interest as theirs, to keep the market for the French and American oils only. I am told Massachusetts has prohibited the introduction of foreign fish oils into her ports. This law, if well executed, will be an

effectual guard against fraud; and a similar one in the other States interested in this fishery, would much encourage this government to continue her indulgence to us. Though the *Arret*, then, for the re-admission of our oils, is not yet passed, I think I may assure you it will be so in a few days, and of course, that this branch of commerce, after so threatening an appearance, will be on a better footing than ever, as enjoying, jointly with the French oil, a monopoly of their markets. The continuance of this will depend on the growth of their fishery. Whenever they become able to supply their own wants, it is very possible they may refuse to take our oils; but I do not believe it possible for them to raise their fishery to that, unless they can continue to draw off our fishermen from us. Their seventeen ships, this year, had one hundred and fifty of our sailors on board. I do not know what number the English have got into their service. You will readily perceive, that there are particulars in these printed observations, which it would not be proper to suffer to become public. They were printed merely that a copy might be given to each minister, and care has been taken to let them go in no other hands.

I must now trouble Congress with a petition on my own behalf. When I left my own house in October, 1783, it was to attend Congress as a member, and in expectation of returning in five or six months. In the month of May following, however,

I was desired to come to Europe, as member of a commission, which was to continue two years only. I came off immediately, without going home to make any other arrangements in my affairs, thinking they would not suffer greatly before I should return to them. Before the close of the two years, Doctor Franklin retiring from his charge here, Congress were pleased to name me to it; so that I have been led on by events, to an absence of five years, instead of five months. In the meantime matters of great moment to others as well as myself, and which can be arranged by nobody but myself, will await no longer. Another motive of still more powerful cogency on my mind, is the necessity of carrying my family back to their friends and country. I must, therefore, ask of Congress a leave of short absence. Allowing three months on the sea, going and coming, and two months at my own house, which will suffice for my affairs, I need not be from Paris but between five and six months. I do not foresee anything which can suffer during my absence. The consular convention is finished, except as to the exchange of ratification, which will be the affair of a day only. The difference with Schweighauser and Dobrée, relative to our arms, will be finished. That of Denmark, if ever finished, will probably be long spun out. The ransom of the Algerine captives, is the only matter likely to be on hand. That cannot be set on foot till the money is raised in Holland, and an order received for its

application; probably these will take place, so that I may set it in motion before my departure; if not, I can still leave it on such a footing as to be put into motion the moment the money can be paid. And even when the leave of Congress shall be received, I will not make use of it, if there is anything of consequence which may suffer; but would postpone my departure till circumstances will admit it. But should these be as I expect they will, it will be vastly desirable to me, to receive the permission immediately, so that I may go out as soon as the vernal equinox is over, and be sure of my return in good time and season in the fall. Mr. Short, who had had thoughts of returning to America, will postpone that return till I come back. His talents and character allow me to say, with confidence, that nothing will suffer in his hands. The friendly dispositions of Monsieur de Montmorin would induce him readily to communicate with Mr. Short in his present character; but should any of his applications be necessary to be laid before the Council, they might suffer difficulty; nor could he attend the diplomatic societies, which are the most certain sources of good intelligence. Would Congress think it expedient to remove the difficulties, by naming him secretary of legation, so that he would act, of course, as chargé des affaires during my absence? It would be just that the difference between the salary of a secretary and a secretary of legation should cease, as soon as he should cease to be charged

with the affairs of the United States; that is to say, on my return; and he would expect that. So that this difference for five or six months, would be an affair of about one hundred and seventy guineas only, which would be not more than equal to the additional expense that would be brought on him necessarily by the change of character. I mention these particulars, that Congress may see the end as well as the beginning of the proposition, and have only to add, "their will be done." Leave for me being obtained, I will ask it, Sir, of your friendship, to avail yourself of various occasions to the ports of France and England, to convey me immediate notice of it, and relieve me as soon as possible from the anxiety of expectation, and the uncertainty in which I shall be. We have been in daily expectation of hearing of the death of the King of England. Our latest news are of the 11th. He had then been despaired of, for three or four days; but as my letter is to pass through England, you will have later accounts of him than that can give you. I send you the newspapers to this date, and have the honor to be, with the greatest esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

P. S. The last crop of corn in France has been so short, that they apprehend want. Mr. Neckar desires me to make known this scarcity to our merchants, in hopes they would send supplies. I promised him I would. If it could be done without

naming him, it would be agreeable to him, and probably advantageous to the adventurers.

[*The annexed are the observations on the subject of admitting our whale oil in the markets of France, referred to in the preceding letter.*]

Whale oil enters, as a raw material, into several branches of manufacture, as of wool, leather, soap: it is used also, in painting, architecture and navigation. But its great consumption is in lighting houses and cities. For this last purpose, however, it has a powerful competitor in the vegetable oils. These do well in warm, still weather, but they fix with cold, they extinguish easily with the wind, their crop is precarious, depending on the seasons, and to yield the same light, a larger wick must be used, and greater quantity of oil consumed. Estimating all these articles of difference together, those employed in lighting cities find their account in giving about twenty-five per cent. more for whale, than for vegetable oils. But higher than this, the whale oil, in its present form, cannot rise; because it then becomes more advantageous to the city lighters to use others. This competition, then, limits its price, higher than which no encouragement can raise it; and it becomes, as it were, a law of its nature. But, at this low price, the whale fishery is the poorest business into which a merchant or sailor can enter. If the sailor, instead of wages, has a part of what is taken, he finds that this, one

year with another, yields him less than he could have got as wages in any other business. It is attended, too, with great risk, singular hardships, and long absence from his family. If the voyage is made solely at the expense of the merchant, he finds that, one year with another, it does not reimburse him his expense. As for example, an English ship of three hundred tons and forty-two hands, brings home, *communibus annis*, after four months' voyage, twenty-five tons of oil, worth four hundred and thirty-seven pounds ten shillings sterling. But the wages of the officers and seamen, will be four hundred pounds; the outfit, then, and the merchant's profit, must be paid by the government; and it is accordingly on this idea that the British bounty is calculated. From the poverty of this business, then, it has happened that the nations who have taken it up, have successively abandoned it. The Basques began it; but though the most economical and enterprising of the inhabitants of France, they could not continue it; and it is said they never employed more than thirty ships a year. The Dutch and Hanse towns succeeded them. The latter gave it up long ago. The English carried it on in competition with the Dutch, during the last and beginning of the present century; but it was too little profitable for them, in comparison with other branches of commerce open to them.

In the meantime, the inhabitants of the barren island of Nantucket had taken up this fishery,

invited to it, by the whales presenting themselves on their own shore. To them, therefore, the English relinquished it, continuing to them, as British subjects, the importation of their oils into England, duty free, while foreigners were subject to a duty of eighteen pounds five shillings sterling, a ton. The Dutch were enabled to continue it long, because, 1st. They are so near the northern fishing grounds, that a vessel begins her fishing very soon after she is out of port. 2d. They navigate with more economy than the other nations of Europe. 3d. Their seamen are content with lower wages: and 4th, their merchants, with a lower profit on their capital. Under all these favorable circumstances, however, this branch of business, after long languishing, is, at length, nearly extinct with them. It is said, they did not send above half a dozen ships in pursuit of the whale, this present year. The Nantuckois, then, were the only people who exercised this fishery to any extent, at the commencement of the late war. Their country, from its barrenness yielding no subsistence, they were obliged to seek it in the sea which surrounded them. Their economy was more rigorous than that of the Dutch. Their seamen, instead of wages, had a share in what was taken: this induced them to fish with fewer hands, so that each had a greater dividend in the profit; it made them more vigilant in seeking game, bolder in pursuing it, and parsimonious in all their expenses. London was their only market. When, therefore, by the

late Revolution, they became aliens in Great Britain, they became subject to the alien duty of eighteen pounds five shillings, the ton of oil, which being more than equal to the price of the common whale oil, they are obliged to abandon that fishery. So that this people, who, before the war, had employed upwards of three hundred vessels a year, in the whale fishery, (while Great Britain had herself, never employed one hundred,) have now almost ceased to exercise it. But they still had the seamen, the most important material for this fishery; and they still retained the spirit for fishing: so that, at the re-establishment of peace, they were capable, in a very short time, of reviving their fishery, in all its splendor. The British Government saw that the moment was critical. They knew that their own share in that fishery, was as nothing; that the great mass of fishermen was left with a nation now separated from them; that these fishermen, however, had lost their ancient market; had no other resource within their country, to which they could turn; and they hoped, therefore, they might, in the present moment of distress, be decoyed over to their establishments, and be added to the mass of their seamen. To effect this, they offered extravagant advantages to all persons who should exercise the whale fishery from British establishments. But not counting with much confidence, on a long connection with their remaining possessions on the continent of America, foreseeing that the Nantuckois would

settle in them, preferably, if put on an equal footing with those of Great Britain, and that thus they might have to purchase them the second time, they confined their high offers to settlers in Great Britain. The Nantuckois, left without resource by the loss of their market, began to think of removing to the British dominions; some to Nova Scotia, preferring smaller advantages, in the neighborhood of their ancient country and friends; others to Great Britain, postponing country and friends to high premiums. A vessel was already arrived from Halifax to Nantucket, to take off some of those who proposed to remove; two families had gone on board, and others were going, when a letter was received there, which had been written by Monsieur le Marquis de La Fayette, to a gentleman in Boston, and transmitted by him to Nantucket. The purport of the letter was, to dissuade their accepting the British proposals, and to assure them, that their friends in France would endeavor to do something for them. This instantly suspended their design: not another went on board, and the vessel returned to Halifax, with only the two families.

In fact, the French government had not been inattentive to the views of the British, nor insensible to the crisis. They saw the danger of permitting five or six thousand of the best seamen existing, to be transferred by a single stroke to the marine strength of their enemy, and to carry over with them an art, which they possessed almost exclusively.

The counterplan which they set on foot, was, to tempt the Nantuckois, by high offers, to come and settle in France. This was in the year 1785. The British, however, had in their favor a sameness of language, religion, laws, habits, and kindred. Nine families only, of thirty-three persons in the whole, came to Dunkirk; so that this project was not likely to prevent their emigration to the English establishments, if nothing else had happened.

France had effectually aided in detaching the United States of America from the *force* of Great Britain; but, as yet, they seemed to have indulged only a silent wish, to detach them from her *commerce*. They had done nothing to induce that event. In the same year, 1785, while M. de Calonnes was in treaty with the Nantuckois, an estimate of the commerce of the United States was submitted to the Count de Vergennes, and it was shown, that of three millions of pounds sterling, to which their exports amounted, one third might be brought to France, and exchanged against her productions and manufactures, advantageously for both nations; provided the obstacles of prohibition, monopoly and duty, were either done away or moderated, as far as circumstances would admit. A committee, which had been appointed to investigate a particular one of these objects, was thereupon instructed to extend its researches to the whole, and see what advantages and facilities the government could offer, for the encouragement of a general commerce with the

United States. The committee was composed of persons well skilled in commerce; and after laboring assiduously for several months, they made their report: the result of which was given in the letter of his Majesty's Comptroller General, of the 22d of October, 1786, wherein he stated the principles which should be established, for the future regulation of the commerce between France and the United States. It was become tolerably evident, at the date of this letter, that the terms offered to the Nantuckois, would not produce their emigration to Dunkirk; and that it would be safest, in every event, to offer some other alternative, which might prevent their acceptance of the British offers. The obvious one was, to open the ports of France to their oils, so that they might still exercise their fishery, remaining in their native country, and find a new market for its produce, instead of that which they had lost. The article of whale oil was, accordingly, distinguished in the letter of M. de Calonnes, by an immediate abatement of duty, and promise of further abatement, after the year 1790. This letter was instantly sent to America, and bid fair to produce there the effect intended, by determining the fishermen to carry on their trade from their own homes, with the advantage only of a free market in France, rather than remove to Great Britain, where a free market and great bounty were offered them. An *Arret* was still to be prepared, to give legal sanction to the letter of M. de Calonnes. Monsieur Lambert,

with a patience and assiduity almost unexampled, went through all the investigations necessary to assure himself, that the conclusion of the committee had been just. Frequent conferences on this subject were held in his presence; the deputies of the chambers of commerce were heard, and the result was, the *Arret* of December the 29th, 1787, confirming the abatements of duty, present and future, which the letter of October, 1786, had promised, and reserving to his Majesty, to grant still further favors to that production, if, on further information, he should find it for the interest of the two nations.

The English had now begun to deluge the markets of France, with their whale oils; and they were enabled by the great premiums given by their government, to undersell the French fisherman, aided by feebler premiums, and the American, aided by his poverty alone. Nor is it certain, that these speculations were not made at the risk of the British government, to suppress the French and American fishermen in their only market. Some remedy seemed necessary. Perhaps it would not have been a bad one, to subject, by a general law, the merchandise of every nation, and of every nature, to pay additional duties in the ports of France, exactly equal to the premiums and drawbacks given on the same merchandise, by their own government. This might not only counteract the effect of premiums in the instance of whale oils, but attack the whole British system of bounties and drawbacks,

by the aid of which, they make London the centre of commerce for the whole earth. A less general remedy, but an effectual one, was, to prohibit the oils of all *European* nations; the treaty with England requiring only, that she should be treated as well as the most favored *European* nation. But the remedy adopted was, to prohibit all oils, without exception.

To know how this remedy will operate, we must consider the quantity of whale oil which France consumes annually, the quantity which she obtains from her own fishery; and, if she obtains less than she consumes, we are to consider what will follow the prohibition.

The annual consumption of France, as stated by a person who has good opportunities of knowing it, is as follows:

	lbs. pesant.	quinteaux.	tons.
Paris, according to the registers of 1786	2,800,000	28,000	1,750
Twenty-seven other cities, lighted by M. Sangrain	800,000	8,000	500
Rouen	500.000	5,000	312½
Bordeaux	600,000	6,000	375
Lyons	300,000	3,000	187½
Other cities, leather and light	3,000,000	30,000	1,875
	8,000,000	80,000	5,000

Other calculations, or say rather, conjectures, reduce the consumption to about half this. It is treating these conjectures with great respect, to place them on an equal footing with the estimate of the person

before alluded to, and to suppose the truth half way between them. But we will do it, and call the present consumption of France only sixty thousand quintals, or three thousand seven hundred and fifty tons a year. This consumption is increasing fast, as the practice of lighting cities is becoming more general, and the superior advantages of lighting them with whale oil, are but now beginning to be known.

What do the fisheries of France furnish? She has employed, this year, fifteen vessels in the southern, and two in the northern fishery, carrying forty-five hundred tons in the whole, or two hundred and sixty-five each, on an average. The English ships, led by Nantuckois as well as the French, have never averaged in the southern fishery, more than one-fifth of their burthen, in the best year. The fifteen ships of France, according to this ground of calculation, and supposing the present to have been one of the best years, should have brought, one with another, one-fifth of two hundred and sixty-five tons, or fifty-three tons each. But we are told, they have brought near the double of that, to wit, one hundred tons each, and fifteen hundred tons in the whole. Supposing the two northern vessels to have brought home the cargo which is common from the northern fishery, to wit, twenty-five tons each, the whole produce this year, will then be fifteen hundred and fifty tons. This is five and a half months' provision, or two-fifths of the annual consumption. To furnish

for the whole year, would require forty ships of the same size, in years as fortunate as the present, and eighty-five, *communibus annis;* forty-four tons, or one-sixth of the burthen, being as high an average as should be counted on, one year with another; and the number must be increased, with the increasing consumption. France, then, is evidently not yet in a condition to supply her own wants. It is said, indeed, she has a large stock on hand unsold, occasioned by the English competition. Thirty-three thousand quintals, including this year's produce, are spoken of: this is between six and seven months' provision; and supposing by the time this is exhausted that the next year's supply comes in, that will enable her to go on five or six months longer; say a twelvemonth in the whole. But at the end of the twelvemonth, what is to be done? The manufactures depending on this article, cannot maintain their competition against those of other countries, if deprived of their equal means. When the alternative, then, shall be presented, of letting them drop, or opening the ports to foreign whale oil, it is presumable the latter will be adopted as the lesser evil. But it will be too late for America. Her fishery, annihilated during the late war, only began to raise its head on the prospect of a market held out by this country. Crushed by the *Arret* of September the 28th, in its first feeble effort to revive, it will rise no more. Expeditions, which require the expense of the outfit of vessels, and from nine to twelve months'

navigation, as the southern fishery does, most frequented by the Americans, cannot be undertaken in sole reliance on a market, which is opened and shut from one day to another, with little or no warning. The English alone, then, will remain to furnish these supplies, and they must be received even from them. We must accept bread from our enemies, if our friends cannot furnish it. This comes exactly to the point, to which that government has been looking. She fears no rivals in the whale fishery but America: or rather, it is the whale fishery of America, of which she is endeavoring to possess herself. It is for this object, she is making the present extraordinary efforts, by bounties and other encouragements; and her success, so far, is very flattering. Before the war, she had not one hundred vessels in the whale trade, while America employed three hundred and nine. In 1786, Great Britain employed one hundred and fifty-one vessels; in 1787, two hundred and eighty-six; in 1788, three hundred and fourteen, nearly the ancient American number; while the latter has fallen to about eighty. They have just changed places then; England having gained exactly what America has lost. France, by her ports and markets, holds the balance between the two contending parties, and gives the victory, by opening and shutting them, to which she pleases. We have still precious remains of seamen educated in this fishery, and capable, by their poverty, their boldness and address, of recovering it from the Eng-

lish in spite of their bounties. But this *Arret* endangers the transferring to Great Britain every man of them, who is not invincibly attached to his native soil. There is no other nation, in present condition, to maintain a competition with Great Britain in the whale fishery. The expense at which it is supported on her part, seems enormous. Two hundred and fifty-five vessels, of seventy-five thousand four hundred and thirty-six tons, employed by her this year, in the northern fishery, at forty-two men each; and fifty-nine in the southern, at eighteen men each, make eleven thousand seven hundred and seventy-two men. These are known to have cost the government fifteen pounds each, or one hundred and seventy-six thousand five hundred and eighty pounds, in the whole, and that, to employ the principal part of them, from three to four months only. The northern ships have brought home twenty, and the southern sixty tons of oil, on an average; making eighty-six hundred and forty tons. Every ton of oil, then, has cost the government twenty pounds in bounty. Still, if they can beat us out of the field and have it to themselves, they will think their money well employed. If France undertakes, solely, the competition against them, she must do it at equal expense. The trade is too poor to support itself. The eighty-five ships, necessary to supply even her present consumption, bountied, as the English are, will require a sacrifice of twelve hundred and eighty-five thousand two hundred livres a year, to maintain

three thousand five hundred and seventy seamen, and that a part of the year only; and if she will put it to twelve thousand men, in competition with England, she must sacrifice, as they do, four or five millions a year. The same number of men might, with the same bounty, be kept in as constant employ, carrying stone from Bayonne to Cherbourg, or coal from Newcastle to Havre, in which navigations they would be always at hand, and become good seamen. The English consider among their best sailors, those employed in carrying coal from Newcastle to London. France cannot expect to raise her fishery, even to the supply of her own consumption in one year, or in several years. Is it not better, then, by keeping her ports open to the United States, to enable them to aid in maintaining the field against the common adversary, till she shall be in condition to take it herself, and to supply her own wants? Otherwise, her supplies must aliment that very force which is keeping her under. On our part, we can never be dangerous competitors to France. The extent to which we can exercise this fishery, is limited to that of the barren island of Nantucket, and a few similar barren spots; its duration, to the pleasure of this government, as we have no other market. A material observation must be added here: sudden vicissitudes of opening and shutting ports, do little injury to merchants settled on the opposite coast, watching for the opening, like the return of a tide, and ready to enter with it. But they ruin the adventurer,

whose distance requires six months' notice. Those who are now arriving from America, in consequence of the *Arret* of December the 29th, will consider it as the false light which has led them to their ruin. They will be apt to say, that they come to the ports of France by invitation of that *Arret*, that the subsequent one of September the 28th, which drives them from those ports, founds itself on a single principle, viz., "that the prohibition of foreign oils, is the most useful encouragement which can be given to that branch of industry." They will say, that, if this be a true principle, it was as true on the 29th of December, 1787, as on the 20th of September, 1788; it was then weighed against other motives, judged weaker and overruled, and it is hard it should be now revived, to ruin them.

The refinery for whale oil, lately established at Rouen, seems to be an object worthy of national attention. In order to judge of its importance, the different qualities of whale oil must be noted. Three qualities are known in the American and English markets. 1st. That of the spermaceti whale. 2d. Of the Greenland whale. 3d. Of the Brazil whale. 1. The spermaceti whale found by the Nantuckois in the neighborhood of the western islands, to which they had gone in pursuit of other whales, retired thence to the coast of Guinea, afterwards to that of Brazil, and begins now to be best found in the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope, and even of Cape Horn. He is an active, fierce animal, and requires

vast address and boldness in the fisherman. The inhabitants of Brazil make little expeditions from their coast, and take some of these fish. But the Americans are the only distant people who have been in the habit of seeking and attacking him, in numbers. The British, however, led by the Nantuckois, whom they have decoyed into their service, have begun this fishery. In 1785, they had eighteen ships in it; in 1787, thirty-eight; in 1788, fifty-four, or, as some say, sixty-four. I have calculated on the middle number, fifty-nine. Still they take but a very small proportion of their own demand; we furnish the rest. Theirs is the only market to which we carry that oil, because it is the only one where its properties are known. It is luminous, resists coagulation by cold, to the forty-first degree of Fahrenheit's thermometer, and fourth of Reaumur's, and yields no smell at all; it is used, therefore, within doors, to lighten shops, and even in the richest houses, for antechambers, stairs, galleries, etc. It sells at the London market for treble the price of common whale oil. This enables the adventurer to pay the duty of eighteen pounds five shillings sterling the ton, and still to have a living profit. Besides the mass of oil produced from the whole body of the whale, his head yields three or four barrels of what is called head matter, from which is made the solid spermaceti, used for medicine and candles. This sells by the pound, at double the price of the oil. The disadvantage of this fishery is, that the sailors are from nine

to twelve months absent on the voyage; of course, they are not at hand on any sudden emergency, and are even liable to be taken before they know that war is begun. It must be added, on the subject of this whale, that he is rare and shy, soon abandoning the grounds where he is hunted. This fishery, less losing than the other, and often profitable, will occasion it to be so thronged, soon, as to bring it on a level with the other. It will then require the same extensive support, or to be abandoned.

2. The Greenland whale oil is next in quality. It resists coagulation by cold, to thirty-six degrees of Fahrenheit, and two of Reaumur; but it has a smell insupportable within doors, and is not luminous. It sells, therefore, in London, at about sixteen pounds the ton. This whale is clumsy and timid; he dives when struck, and comes up to breathe by the first cake of ice, where the fisherman needs little address or courage to find and take him. This is the fishery mostly frequented by European nations; it is this fish which yields the fin in quantity, and the voyages last about three or four months.

The third quality is that of the small Brazil whale. He was originally found on the coast of Nantucket, and first led that people to this pursuit; he retired, first to the Banks of Newfoundland, then to the western islands, and is now found within soundings on the coast of Brazil, during the months of December, January, February and March. His oil chills at fifty degrees of Fahrenheit, and eight of Reaumur,

is black and offensive; worth, therefore, but thirteen pounds the ton, in London. In warm summer nights, however, it burns better than the Greenland oil.

To the qualities of the oils thus described, it is to be added, that an individual has discovered methods, 1, of converting a great part of the oils of the spermaceti whale into the solid substance called spermaceti, heretofore produced from his head alone; 2, of refining the Greenland whale oil, so as to take from it all smell, and render it limpid and luminous as that of the spermaceti whale; 3, of curdling the oil of the Brazil whale into tallow, resembling that of beef, and answering all its purposes. This person is engaged by the company, which has established the refinery at Rouen; their works will cost them half a million of livres; will be able to refine all the oil which can be used in the kingdom, and even to supply foreign markets. The effect of this refinery, then, would be, 1, to supplant the solid spermaceti of all other nations, by theirs, of equal quality, and lower price; 2, to substitute instead of spermaceti oil, their black whale oil refined, of equal quality, and lower price; 3, to render the worthless oil of the Brazil, equal in value to tallow; and 4, by accommodating these oils to uses, to which they could never otherwise have been applied, they will extend the demand beyond its present narrow limits, to any supply which can be furnished, and thus give the most effectual encouragement and extension to the whale fishery. But these works were calculated on the *Arret* of

December the 29th, which admitted here, freely and fully, the produce of the American fishery. If confined to that of the French fishery alone, the enterprise may fail, for want of matter to work on.

After this review of the whale fishery as a political institution, a few considerations shall be added on its produce, as a basis of commercial exchange between France and the United States. The discussion it has undergone, on former occasions, in this point of view, leaves little new to be now urged.

The United States, not possessing mines of the precious metals, can purchase necessaries from other nations, so far only as their produce is received in exchange. Without enumerating our smaller articles, we have three of principal importance, proper for the French market; to wit, tobacco, whale oil and rice. The first and most important, is tobacco. This might furnish an exchange for eight millions of the productions of this country; but it is under a monopoly, and that not of a mercantile, but of a financiering company, whose interest is, to pay in money, and not in merchandise, and who are so much governed by the spirit of simplifying their purchases and proceedings, that they find means to elude every endeavor on the part of Government, to make them diffuse their purchases among the merchants in general. Little profit is derived from this, then, as an article of exchange for the produce and manufactures of France. Whale oil might be next in importance; but that is now prohibited. American

rice is not yet of great, but it is of growing consumption in France, and being the only article of the three which is free, it may become a principal basis of exchange. Time and trial may add a fourth, that is, timber. But some essays, rendered unsuccessful by unfortunate circumstances, place that, at present, under a discredit, which it will be found hereafter not to have merited. The English know its value, and were supplied with it before the war. A spirit of hostility, since that event, led them to seek Russian rather than American supplies; a new spirit of hostility has driven them back from Russia, and they are now making contracts for American timber. But of the three articles before mentioned, proved by experience to be suitable for the French market, one is prohibited, one under monopoly, and one alone free, and that the smallest and of very limited consumption. The way to encourage purchasers, is, to multiply their means of payment. Whale oil might be an important one. In one scale, are the interests of the millions who are lighted, shod, or clothed with the help of it, and the thousands of laborers and manufacturers, who would be employed in producing the articles which might be given in exchange for it, if received from America; in the other scale, are the interests of the adventurers in the whale fishery; each of whom, indeed, politically considered, may be of more importance to the State, than a simple laborer or manufacturer; but to make the estimate with the accuracy it merits,

we should multiply the numbers in each scale into their individual importance, and see which preponderates.

Both governments have seen with concern that their commercial intercourse does not grow as rapidly as they would wish. The system of the United States is, to use neither prohibitions nor premiums. Commerce there, regulates itself freely, and asks nothing better. Where a government finds itself under the necessity of undertaking that regulation, it would seem, that it should conduct it as an intelligent merchant would; that is to say, invite customers to purchase, by facilitating their means of payment, and by adapting goods to their taste. If this idea be just, government here has two operations to attend to, with respect to the commerce of the United States; 1, to do away, or to moderate, as much as possible, the prohibitions and monopolies of their materials for payment; 2, to encourage the institution of the principal manufactures, which the necessities or the habits of their new customers call for. Under this latter head, a hint shall be suggested, which must find its apology in the motive for which it flows; that is, a desire of promoting mutual interests and close friendship. Six hundred thousand of the laboring poor of America, comprehending slaves under that denomination, are clothed in three of the simplest manufactures possible; to wit, oznaburgs, plains and duffel blankets. The first is a linen; the two last, woollens. It happens, too,

that they are used exactly by those who cultivate the tobacco and rice, and in a good degree by those employed in the whale fishery. To these manufactures they are so habituated, that no substitute will be received. If the vessels which bring tobacco, rice and whale oil, do not find them in the ports of delivery, they must be sought where they can be found; that is, in England, at present. If they were made in France, they would be gladly taken in exchange there. The quantities annually used by this description of people, and their value, are as follows:

		livres.
Oznaburgs	2,700,000 aunes, at sixteen sous the aune, worth	2,160,000
Plains	1,350,000 aunes, at two livres the aune	2,700,000
Duffel blankets	300,000 aunes, at seven and four-fifths livres each	2,160,000
		7,020,000

It would be difficult to say how much should be added, for the consumption of inhabitants of other descriptions; a great deal surely. But the present view shall be confined to the one description named. Seven millions of livres, are nine millions of day's work, of those who raise, spin and weave the wool and flax; and, at three hundred working days to the year, would maintain thirty thousand people. To introduce these simple manufactures, suppose government to give five per cent. on the value of what should be exported of them, for ten years to come; if none should be exported, nothing would be to be paid; but on the other hand, if the manufactures, with this encouragement, should raise to the full demand, it will be a sacrifice of three hundred and

fifty-one thousand livres a year, for ten years only, to produce a perpetual subsistence for more than thirty thousand people, (for the demand will grow with our population,) while she must expend perpetually one million two hundred and eighty-five thousand livres a year, to maintain the three thousand five hundred and seventy seamen, who would supply her with whale oil. That is to say, for each seaman, as much as for thirty laborers and manufacturers.

But to return to our subject, and to conclude.

Whether, then, we consider the *Arret* of September the 28th, in a political or a commercial light, it would seem, that the United States should be excepted from its operation. Still more so, when they invoke against it the amity subsisting between the two nations, the desire of binding them together by every possible interest and connection, the several acts in favor of this exception, the dignity of legislation, which admits not of changes backwards and forwards, the interests of commerce, which requires steady regulations, the assurances of the friendly motives which have led the King to pass these acts, and the hope, that no cause will arise to change either his motives or his measures towards us.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, November 29, 1788.

SIR,—In the hurry of making up my letter of the 19th inst., I omitted the enclosed printed paper, on the subject of whale oil. That omission is now supplied by another conveyance, by the way of London. The explanatory *Arret* is not yet come out. I still take for granted, it will pass, though there be an opposition to it in the Council. In the meantime, orders are given to receive our oils which may arrive. The apprehension of a want of corn, has induced them to turn their eyes to foreign supplies; and to show their preference of receiving them from us, they have passed the enclosed *Arret*, giving a premium on wheat and flour from the United States, for a limited time. This, you will doubtless think proper to have translated and published. The Notables are still in session; the votes of the separate *bureaux*, have not yet been reduced to a joint act, in an assembly of the whole. I see no reason to suppose they will change the separate votes relative to the representation of the Tiers État, in the States General. In the meantime, the stream of public indignation, heretofore directed against the court, sets strongly against the Notables. It is not yet decided when the States will meet; but certainly they cannot till February or March. The Turks have retired across the Danube. This movement indicates their going into winter quarters, and the

severity of the weather must hasten it. The thermometer was yesterday at eight degrees of Fahrenheit, that is, twenty-four degrees below freezing; a degree of cold equal to that of the year 1740, which they count here among their coldest winters. This having continued many days, and being still likely to continue, and the wind from northeast, render it probable, that all enterprise must be suspended between the three great belligerent powers. Poland is likely to be thrown into great convulsions. The Empress of Russia has peremptorily demanded such aids from Poland as might engage in the war. The King of Prussia, on the other hand, threatens to march an army on their borders. The vote of the Polish confederacy for one hundred thousand men, was a coalition of the two parties, in that single act only. The party opposed to the King, have obtained a majority, and have voted that this army shall be independent of him. They are supported by Prussia, while the King depends on Russia. Authentic information from England, leaves not a doubt, that the King is lunatic; and that, instead of the effect, is the cause of the illness, under which he has been so near dying. I mention this, because the English newspapers, speaking by guess on that as they do on all other subjects, might mislead you as to his true situation; or, rather, might mislead others, who know less than they do, that a thing is not rendered the more probable by being mentioned in those papers.

I enclose those of Leyden to the present date with the gazettes of France, and have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

PARIS, December 4, 1788.

SIR,—Your favor of August the 31st came to hand yesterday; and a confidential conveyance offering, by the way of London, I avail myself of it, to acknowledge the receipt.

I have seen, with infinite pleasure, our new Constitution accepted by eleven States, not rejected by the twelfth; and that the thirteenth happens to be a State of the least importance. It is true, that the minorities in most of the accepting States have been very respectable; so much so as to render it prudent, were it not otherwise reasonable, to make some sacrifice to them. I am in hopes, that the annexation of a bill of rights to the Constitution will alone draw over so great a proportion of the minorities as to leave little danger in the opposition of the residue; and that this annexation may be made by Congress and the Assemblies, without calling a convention, which might endanger the most valuable parts of the system. Calculation has convinced me that circumstances may arise, and probably will arise, wherein all the resources of taxation will be necessary for the safety of the State, For though I am decidedly of

opinion we should take no part in European quarrels, but cultivate peace and commerce with all, yet who can avoid seeing the source of war, in the tyranny of those nations, who deprive us of the natural right of trading with our neighbors? The produce of the United States will soon exceed the European demand; what is to be done with the surplus, when there shall be one? It will be employed, without question, to open, by force, a market for itself, with those placed on the same continent with us, and who wish nothing better. Other causes, too, are obvious, which may involve us in war; and war requires every resource of taxation and credit. The power of making war often prevents it, and in our case would give efficacy to our desire of peace. If the new government wears the front which I hope it will, I see no impossibility in the availing ourselves of the wars of others, to open the other parts of America to our commerce, as the price of our neutrality.

The campaign between the Turks and the two empires, has been clearly in favor of the former. The Emperor is secretly trying to bring about a peace. The alliance between England, Prussia, and Holland (and some suspect Sweden also), renders their mediation decisive wherever it is proposed. They seemed to interpose it so magisterially between Denmark and Sweden, that the former submitted to its dictates, and there was all reason to believe that the war in the north-western parts of Europe would be quieted. All of a sudden, a new flame bursts out in Poland.

The King and his party are devoted to Russia. The opposition rely on the protection of Prussia. They have lately become the majority in the confederated diet, and have passed a vote for subjecting their army to a commission independent of the King, and propose a perpetual diet, in which case he will be a perpetual cipher. Russia declares against such a change in their constitution, and Prussia has put an army into readiness for marching, at a moment's warning, on the frontiers of Poland. These events are too recent to see, as yet, what turn they will take, or what effect they will have on the peace of Europe. So is that also of the lunacy of the King of England, which is a decided fact, notwithstanding all the stuff the English papers publish about his fevers, his deliriums, etc. The truth is, that the lunacy declared itself almost at once, and with as few concomitant complaints as usually attend the first development of that disorder. I suppose a regency will be established, and if it consists of a plurality of members, it will probably be peaceable. In this event, it will much favor the present wishes of this country, which are so decidedly for peace, that they refused to enter into the mediation between Sweden and Russia, lest it should commit them. As soon as the convocation of the States General was announced, a tranquillity took place through the whole kingdom; happily, no open rupture has taken place in any part of it. The parliaments were reinstated in their functions at the same time. This was all they desired; and they had

called for the States General only through fear that the crown could not otherwise be forced to reinstate them. Their end obtained, they began to foresee danger to themselves in the States General. They began to lay the foundation for cavilling at the legality of that body, if its measures should be hostile to them. The court, to clear itself of the dispute, convened the Notables, who had acted with general approbation on the former occasion, and referred to them the forms of calling and organizing the States General. These Notables consist principally of Nobility and Clergy; the few of the Tiers État among them being either parliament men, or other privileged persons. The court wished that, in the future States General, the members of the Tiers État should equal those of both the other orders, and that they should form but one House, all together, and vote by persons, not by orders. But the Notables, in the true spirit of Priests and Nobles, combining together against the people, have voted, by five *bureaux* out of six, that the people, or Tiers État, shall have no greater number of deputies than each of the other orders separately, and that they shall vote by orders: so that two orders concurring in a vote, the third will be overruled; for it is not here as in England, where each of the three branches has a negative on the other two. If this project of theirs succeeds, a combination between the two Houses of Clergy and Nobles, will render the representation of the Tiers État merely nugatory. The *bureaux*

are to assemble together, to consolidate their separate votes; but I see no reasonable hope of their changing this. Perhaps the King, knowing that he may count on the support of the nation, and attach it more closely to him, may take on himself to disregard the opinion of the Notables in this instance, and may call an equal representation of the people, in which, precedents will support him. In every event, I think the present disquiet will end well. The nation has been awaked by our Revolution, they feel their strength, they are enlightened, their lights are spreading, and they will not retrograde. The first States General may establish three important points, without opposition from the court: 1, their own periodical convocation; 2, their exclusive right of taxation (which has been confessed by the King); 3, the right of registering laws, and of previously proposing amendments to them, as the parliaments have, by usurpation, been in the habit of doing. The court will consent to this, from its hatred to the parliaments, and from the desire of having to do with one, rather than many legislatures. If the States are prudent, they will not aim at more than this at first, lest they should shock the dispositions of the court, and even alarm the public mind, which must be left to open itself by degrees to successive improvements. These will follow, from the nature of things; how far they can proceed, in the end, towards a thorough reformation of abuse, cannot be foreseen. In my opinion, a kind of influence which none of their plans

of reform take into account, will elude them all; I mean the influence of women, in the government. The manners of the nation allow them to visit, alone, all persons in office, to solicit the affairs of the husband, family, or friends, and their solicitations bid defiance to laws and regulations. This obstacle may seem less to those who, like our countrymen, are in the precious habit of considering right, as a barrier against all solicitation. Nor can such an one, without the evidence of his own eyes, believe in the desperate state to which things are reduced in this country from the omnipotence of an influence which, fortunately for the happiness of the sex itself, does not endeavor to extend itself in our country beyond the domestic line.

Your communications to the Count de Moustier, whatever they may have been, cannot have done injury to my endeavors here, to open the West Indies to us. On this head, the ministers are invincibly mute, though I have often tried to draw them into the subject. I have, therefore, found it necessary to let it lie, till war, or other circumstances, may force it on. Whenever they are in war with England, they must open the islands to us, and perhaps, during that war, they may see some price which might make them agree to keep them always open. In the meantime, I have laid my shoulder to the opening the markets of this country to our produce, and rendering its transportation a nursery for our seamen. A maritime force is the only one, by which

we can act on Europe. Our navigation law (if it be wise to have any) should be the reverse of that of England. Instead of confining *importations* to home-bottoms, or those of the *producing* nation, I think we should confine *exportations* to home-bottoms, or to those of nations *having treaties with us*. Our exportations are heavy, and would nourish a great force of our own, or be a tempting price to the nation to whom we should offer a participation of it, in exchange for free access to all their possessions. This is an object to which our government alone is adequate, in the gross; but I have ventured to pursue it here, so far as the consumption of our productions by this country extends. Thus, in our arrangements relative to tobacco, none can be received here, but in French or American bottoms. This is employment for near two thousand seamen, and puts nearly that number of British out of employ. By the *Arret* of December, 1787, it was provided, that our whale oils should not be received here, but in French or American bottoms; and by later regulations, all oils, but those of France and America, are excluded. This will put one hundred English whale vessels immediately out of employ, and one hundred and fifty ere long; and call so many of French and American into service. We have had six thousand seamen formerly in this business, the whole of whom we have been likely to lose. The consumption of rice is growing fast in this country, and that of Carolina gaining ground on every other kind. I am of opinion, the

whole of the Carolina rice can be consumed here. Its transportation employs two thousand five hundred sailors, almost all of them English at present; the rice being deposited at Cowes, and brought from thence here. It would be dangerous to confine this transportation to French and American bottoms, the ensuing year, because they will be much engrossed by the transportation of wheat and flour hither, and the crop of rice might lie on hand for want of vessels; but I see no objections to the extensions of our principle to this article also, beginning with the year 1790. However, before there is a necessity of deciding on this, I hope to be able to consult our new government in person, as I have asked of Congress a leave of absence for six months, that is to say, from April to November next. It is necessary for me to pay a short visit to my native country, first, to reconduct my family thither, and place them in the hands of their friends, and secondly, to place my private affairs under certain arrangements. When I left my own house, I expected to be absent but five months, and I have been led by events to an absence of five years. I shall hope, therefore, for the pleasure of personal conferences with your Excellency, on the subject of this letter, and others interesting to our country; of getting my own ideas set to rights by a communication of yours, and of taking again the tone of sentiment of my own country, which we lose, in some degree, after a certain absence. You know, doubtless, of the death of the Marquis

de Chastellux. The Marquis de La Fayette is out of favor with the court, but high in favor with the nation. I once feared for his personal liberty, but I hope he is on safe ground at present.

On the subject of the whale fishery, I enclose you some observations I drew up for the ministry here, in order to obtain a correction of their *Arret* of September last, whereby they had involved our oils with the English, in a general exclusion from their ports. They will accordingly correct this, so that our oils will participate with theirs, in the monopoly of their markets. There are several things incidentally introduced, which do not seem pertinent to the general question; they were rendered necessary by particular circumstances, the explanation of which, would add to a letter already too long. I will trespass no further, than to assure you of the sentiments of sincere attachment and respect with which I have the honor to be, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant.

P. S. The observations enclosed, though printed, have been put into confidential hands only.

TO JOHN ADAMS.

PARIS, December 5, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—I had the pleasure of writing to you on the 2d of August, and of adding a postscript of August the 6th.

* * * * * * * *

You recollect well the *Arret* of December the 29th, 1787, in favor of our commerce, and which, among other things, gave free admission to our whale oil, under a duty of about two louis a ton. In consequence of the English treaty, their oils flowed in, and overstocked the market. The light duty they were liable to under the treaty, still lessened by false estimates and aided by the high premiums of the British government, enabled them to undersell the French and American oils. This produced an outcry of the Dunkirk fishery. It was proposed to exclude all European oils, which would not infringe the British treaty. I could not but encourage this idea, because it would give to the French and American fisheries a monopoly of the French market. The *Arret* was so drawn up; but, in the very moment of passing it, they struck out the word *European*, so that our oils became involved. This, I believe, was the effect of a single person in the ministry. As soon as it was known to me, I wrote to Monsieur de Montmorin, and had conferences with him and the other ministers. I found it necessary to give them information on the subject of the whale fishery, of which they knew little but from the partial information of their Dunkirk adventurers. I therefore wrote the observations (of which I enclose you a printed copy), had them printed to entice them to read them, and particularly developed the expense at which they are carrying on that fishery, and at which they must continue it, if they do continue it. This part was more particu-

larly intended for Mr. Neckar, who was quite a stranger to the subject, who has principles of economy, and will enter into calculations. Other subjects are incidentally introduced; though little connected with the main question, they had been called for by other circumstances. An immediate order was given for the present admission of our oils, till they could form an *Arret;* and, at a conference, the draught of an *Arret* was communicated to me, which re-established that of December 29th. They expressed fears, that, under cover of our name, the Nova Scotia oils would be introduced; and a blank was left in the draught, for the means of preventing that. They have since proposed, that the certificate of their consul shall accompany the oils, to authorize their admission, and this is what they will probably adopt. It was observed, that if our States would prohibit all foreign oils from being imported into them, it would be a great safeguard, and an encouragement to them to continue the admission. Still there remains an expression in the *Arret*, that it is provisory only. However, we must be contented with it as it is; my hope being, that the legislature will be transferred to the National Assembly, in whose hands it will be more stable, and with whom it will be more difficult to obtain a repeal, should the ministry hereafter desire it. If they could succeed in drawing over as many of our Nantucket men as would supply their demands of oil, we might then fear an exclusion; but the present *Arret*, as soon as

it shall be passed, will, I hope, place us in safety till that event, and that event may never happen. I have entered into all these details, that you may be enabled to quiet the alarm which must have been raised by the *Arret* of September the 28th, and assure the adventurers that they may pursue their enterprises as safely as if that had never been passed, and more profitably, because we participate now of a monopolized, instead of an open market. The enclosed observations, though printed, have only been given to the ministers, and one or two other confidential persons. You will see that they contain matter which should be kept from the English, and will, therefore, trust them to the perusal only of such persons as you can confide in. We are greatly indebted to the Marquis de La Fayette for his aid on this, as on every other occasion. He has paid the closest attention to it, and combated for us, with the zeal of a native.

The necessity of reconducting my family to America, and of placing my affairs there under permanent arrangements, has obliged me to ask of Congress a six months' absence, to wit, from April to November next. I hope, therefore, to have the pleasure of seeing you there, and particularly, that it will be at New York that I shall find you. Be so good as to present my sincere esteem to Mrs. Adams, and believe me to be, with very affectionate attachment, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO MR. SHORT.

PARIS, December 8, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—My last to you was of the 21st of November, addressed to Milan, *poste restante*, according to the desire expressed through Mrs. Paradise. I have lately received yours of the 19th of November, and sincerely felicitate you on your recovery. I wish you may have suffered this to be sufficiently established before you set out on your journey. The present letter will probably reach you amidst the classical enjoyments of Rome. I feel myself kindle at the reflection, to make that journey; but circumstances will oblige me to postpone it, at least. We are here under a most extraordinary degree of cold. The thermometer has been ten degrees of Reaumur below freezing; this is eight degrees of Fahrenheit above zero, and was the degree of cold here in in the year 1740. The long continuance of this severity, and the snow now on the ground, give physical prognostications of a hard winter. You will be in a privileged climate, and will have had an enviable escape from this. The Notables are not yet separated, nor is their treasonable vote against the people yet consolidated; but it will be. The parliament have taken up the subject, and passed a very laudable vote in opposition. They have made it the occasion of giving sketches of what should be a bill of rights. Perhaps this opposition of authority may give the court an option between

the two. Stocks are rising slowly, but steadily. The loan of 1784, is at thirteen loss; the *caisse d'escompte*, four thousand and seventy-five. The Count de Bryenne has retired, and M. de Puy-segur succeeded to his place. Madame de Chambonois (sister of M. de Langear) is dead of the small-pox. Pio is likely to receive a good appointment in his own country, which will take him from us. Corn is likely to become extremely scarce in France, Spain and England. This country has offered a premium of forty sous the quintal on flour of the United States, and thirty sous the quintal on our wheat, to be brought here between February and June.

General Washington writes me that industry and economy begin to take place of that idleness and extravagance which had succeeded to the close of the war. The Potomac canal is in great forwardness. J. M. writes me word that Mr. Jay and General Knox are talked of in the middle States for Vice-Presidents, but he queries whether both will not prefer their present berths. It seems agreed that some amend-ments will be made to the new Constitution. All are willing to add a bill of rights; but they fear the power of internal taxation will be abridged. The friends of the new government will oppose the method of amendment by a federal convention, which would subject the whole instrument to change, and they will support the other method, which admits Congress, by a vote of two-thirds, to submit

specific changes to the Assemblies, three-fourths of whom must concur to establish them.

The enclosed letter is from Pallegrino, one of the Italian laborers established in our neighborhood. I fancy it contains one for his father. I have supposed it would not be unpleasant to you to have the delivery of it, as it may give you a good opportunity of conferring with one of that class as much as you please. I obey at the same time my own wishes to oblige the writer. Mazzei is at this time ill, but not in danger. I am impatient to receive further letters from you, which may assure me of the solidity of your recovery, being with great anxiety for your health and happiness, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and servant.

[*The annexed is here inserted in the Author's MS. without stating to whom it is addressed.*]

The Minister Plenipotentiary for the United States of America, finds himself under the necessity of declining to authenticate writings destined to be sent to the United States, for this main reason, that such authentication is not legal evidence there. After a reason so sufficient, it seems superfluous to add, that, were his authentication admissible in the courts of the United States, he could never give it to any seal or signature, which had not been put in his presence; that he could never certify a copy, unless both that and the original were in a hand-writing legible to

him, and had been compared together by him, word by word: that so numerous are the writings presented, that their authentication alone, would occupy the greater part of his time, and withdrawing him from his proper duties, would change the nature of his office to that of a Notary. He observes to those who do him the honor of addressing themselves to him on this subject, that the laws for the authentication of foreign writings, are not the same through all the United States, some requiring an authentication under the seal of the Prevoté of a city, and others admitting that of a Notary; but that writings authenticated in both these manners, will, under the one or the other, be admitted in most, if not all, of the United States. It would seem advisable, then, to furnish them with this double authentication.

TO DOCTOR CURRIE.

PARIS, December 20, 1788.

DEAR DOCTOR,—"Procrastination is the thief of time," so says Young, and so I find it. It is the only apology, and it is the true one for my having been so long without writing to you. In the meantime I shall overtake the present epistle if it be as long getting to you as my letters are sometimes coming to me from America. I have asked of Congress a leave of five or six months' absence this year to carry my family back to America, and hope to obtain it in time to sail in April from Havre for James river

directly. In this case I shall have the pleasure of seeing you at Richmond and Eppington a few days. This country is seriously meditating the establishment of a constitution, and the distress of the court for money, with the real good intentions of the King, will produce their concurrence in it. All the world is occupied at present in framing, every one his own plan, of a bill of rights. The States General will meet probably in March, (the day not being yet known). They will probably establish their own periodical meetings, their right to participate of the legislation, their sole right to tax. So far the court will not oppose. Some will endeavor to procure, at the same time, a habeas corpus law and free press. I doubt if the latter can be obtained yet, and as for the former, I hardly think the nation itself ripe to accept it. Though they see the evil of *lettres de cachet*, they believe they do more good on the whole. They will think better in time. The right of taxation includes the idea of fixing a civil list for the King, and of equalizing the taxes on the clergy and nobility as well as the commons. The two former orders do not pay one-third of the proportion *ad valorem*, which the last pay. This will be a great addition to their revenue. While engaged so much internally, you may be assured they wish for external peace. The insanity of the King of England will much befriend their desires in this respect. Regencies are generally peaceable. The war in the north appeared at one time likely to be quieted, but new dissensions in

Poland threaten to embroil Russia and Prussia. In this case Prussia will previously make her peace with the Turks by ceding the Crimea to them. So much for political news. In the literary way we are like, after a very long dearth of good publications, to have something worth reading. The works of the late King of Prussia in sixteen volumes 8vo, appear now. They contain new and curious historical matter. A work on Grecian Antiquities, by the Abbé Barthelemi, of great classical learning, the produce of twenty years' labor, is now in the press, about eight volumes 8vo. A single small volume on government, by the Marquis de Condorcet, is struggling to get abroad in spite of the prohibition it is under. You have heard of the new chemical nomenclature endeavored to be introduced by Lavoisier, Fourcroy, etc. Other chemists of this country, of equal note, reject it, and prove, in my opinion, that it is premature, insufficient and false. These latter are joined by the British chemists; and upon the whole, I think the new nomenclature will be rejected, after doing more harm than good. There are some good publications in it, which must be translated into the ordinary chemical language before they will be useful. A person lately discovered here a very simple method of bleaching yellow paper, or stained paper, (provided there be no grease on the stain,) by the fumes of the muriatic acid poured on magnesia. He showed it to me two or three days after the discovery. On mentioning it to M. Bertholet, we found that a process on the

same principles had, for a year or two past, been adopted successfully for the bleaching linen. This is now effected in from eight hours to two or three days, without requiring the great bleaching fields which the ancient method does; and they say that the linen is less injured. There are two large bleacheries established in this country on this principle, and I believe they are beginning to try it in England. There is a vast improvement in the composition of gunpowder, not yet communicated to the public. We are now at the twenty-ninth livraison of the Encyclopedia. I shall bring to Mr. Hay what he has not yet received, and have then the pleasure of assuring you in person of the sentiments of sincere esteem with which I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO THOMAS PAINE.

PARIS, December 23, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—It is true that I received, very long ago, your favors of September the 9th and 15th, and that I have been in daily intention of answering them, fully and confidentially; but you know, such a correspondence between you and me cannot pass through the post, nor even by the couriers of ambassadors. The French packet boats being discontinued, I am now obliged to watch opportunities by Americans going to London, to write my letters to America. Hence it has happened, that these, the sole oppor-

tunities by which I can write to you without fear, have been lost, by the multitude of American letters I had to write. I now determine, without foreseeing any such conveyance, to begin my letter to you, so that when a conveyance occurs, I shall only have to add recent occurrences. Notwithstanding the interval of my answer which has taken place, I must beg a continuance of your correspondence; because I have great confidence in your communications, and since Mr. Adams' departure, I am in need of authentic information from that country.

I will begin with the subject of your bridge, in which I feel myself interested; and it is with great pleasure that I learn, by your favor of the 16th, that the execution of the arch of experiment exceeds your expectations. In your former letter, you mention, that instead of arranging your tubes and bolts as ordinates to the cord of the arch, you had reverted to your first idea, of arranging them in the direction of the radii. I am sure it will gain, both in beauty and strength. It is true that the divergence of those radii recurs as a difficulty, in getting the rails on upon the bolts; but I thought this fully removed by the answer you first gave me, when I suggested that difficulty, to wit, that you should place the rails first, and drive the bolts through them, and not, as I had imagined, place the bolts first, and put the rails on them. I must doubt whether what you now suggest, will be as good as your first idea; to wit, to have every rail split into two pieces longitudi-

nally, so that there shall be but the halves of the holes in each, and then to clamp the two halves together. The solidity of this method cannot be equal to that of the solid rail, and it increases the suspicious part of the whole machine, which, in a first experiment, ought to be rendered as few as possible. But of all this, the practical iron men are much better judges than we theorists. You hesitate between the catenary and portion of a circle. I have lately received from Italy, a treatise on the equilibrium of arches, by the Abbé Mascheroni. It appears to be a very scientific work. I have not yet had time to engage in it; but I find that the conclusions of his demonstrations are, that every part of the catenary is in perfect equilibrium. It is a great point, then, in a new experiment, to adopt the sole arch, where the pressure will be equally borne by every point of it. If any one point is pushed with accumulated pressure, it will introduce a danger foreign to the essential part of the plan. The difficulty you suggest, is, that the rails being all in catenaries, the tubes must be of different lengths, as these approach nearer or recede farther from each other, and therefore, you recur to the portions of concentric circles, which are equi-distant in all their parts. But I would rather propose, that you make your middle rail an exact catenary, and the interior and exterior rails parallels to that. It is true they will not be exact catenaries, but they will depart very little from it; much less than portions of circles will.

Nothing has been done here on the subject since you went away. There is an Abbé D'Arnal at Nismes, who has obtained an exclusive privilege for navigating the rivers of this country, by the aid of the steam engine. This interests Mr. Rumsey, who had hoped the same thing. D'Arnal's privilege was published in a paper of the 10th of November. Probably, therefore, his application for it was previous to the delivery of Mr. Rumsey's papers to the Secretary of the Academy of Sciences, which was in the latter part of the month of August. However, D'Arnal is not a formidable competitor. He is not in circumstances to make any use, himself, of his privilege, and he has so illy succeeded with a steam mill he erected at Nismes, that he is not likely to engage others to venture in his projects. To say another word of the catenarian arch, without caring about mathematical demonstrations, its nature proves it to be in equilibrio in every point. It is the arch formed by a string fixed at both ends, and swaying loose in all the intermediate points. Thus at liberty, they must finally take that position, wherein every one will be equally pressed; for if any one was more pressed than the neighboring point, it would give way, from the flexibility of the matter of the string.

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I am, with sentiments of sincere esteem and attachment, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO MR. THOMAS PAINE.

PARIS, December 23, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—As to the affairs of this country, they have hitherto gone on well. The Court being decided to call the States General, know that the form of calling and constituting them would admit of cavil. They asked the advice of the Notables. These advised that the form of the last States General of 1614 be observed. In that, the commons had but about one-third of the whole number of members, and they voted by orders. The Court wished now that they should have one-half of the whole number of members, and that they should form but one house, not three. The parliament have taken up the subject, and given the opinion which the Court would have wished. We are, therefore, in hopes that, availing themselves of these contrary opinions, they will follow that which they wished. The priests and nobles threaten schism; and we do not know yet what form will ultimately be adopted. If no schism of this kind prevents it, the States will meet about March or April, and will obtain, without opposition from the Court, 1. Their own periodical convocation; 2. A share in the legislation; 3. The exclusive right to tax and appropriate the public money. They will attempt also to obtain a habeas corpus law and free press; but it does not appear to me that the nation is ripe to accept of these, if offered. They may try to modify them to their present ideas in their

first session, and at some future day adopt them in all their latitude. Upon the whole, if the dispute between the privileged and unprivileged orders does not prevent it, there is no doubt in my mind that they will obtain a fixed, free and wholesome Constitution. I should add, also, if external war does not call them from this pursuit. But against this they are secured by the insanity of the King of England, and they will not suffer themselves to be drawn into war by any other nation. There is reason to believe that the disturbances lately arisen in Poland, will induce the Empress to make her peace with the Turks, by parting with the Crimea, that she may be able to turn herself this way and preserve Poland, of more consequence to her. In this event, there is no doubt the Emperor makes peace with the Turks also, and it would not surprise if he and the Empress should attack the King of Prussia. I think it is not apprehended here that the death of the King of Spain will make any change in the politics of that Court. You ask about Mr. Littlepage. We heard that he joined the Prince of Nassau on the Black Sea, but know nothing of him since, nor have we any information about Paul Jones since the first action on that sea, wherein he was present. You also ask when I shall go to America, and whether by the way of England. I hope to receive my permission in time to sail immediately after the vernal equinox, because this will give me time to arrange my affairs in America, and to return here between the autumnal equinox

and setting in of the winter. I shall certainly not go by the way of England. The encumbrance of a family and baggage will prevent this. I hope you will find some conveyance sufficiently confidential to communicate to me by letter what you say you wish to communicate in person. While in America, I shall attend on our President and Senate in order to possess them of such views of European affairs as I shall have been able to obtain. I shall suppose this the more my duty, as they will be forming their plan of foreign affairs. You have heard of the *Arret* of September 28th, excluding foreign whale oils from the ports of this country. I have obtained the promise of an explanatory *Arret* to declare that that of September 28th was not meant to extend to us. Orders are accordingly given in the ports to receive ours, and the *Arret* will soon be published. This places us on a better footing than ever, as it gives us a monopoly of this market in conjunction with the French fishermen.

TO MR. CARMICHAEL.

PARIS, December 25, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—A sick family has prevented me, for upwards of a month, from putting pen to paper but in indispensable cases, and for some time before that, I had been waiting to receive American news worth communicating to you. These causes have occasioned my silence since my last, which was of the

12th of August, and my leaving unacknowledged, till now, your several favors, of July 24th, Aug. 14th, Sept. 9th and Nov. 3d. That of the 14th instant also came to hand the day before yesterday.

You have long ago known that eleven States have ratified our new Constitution, and that North Carolina, contrary to all expectation, had declined either accepting or refusing, but has proposed amendments copied verbatim from those of Virginia. Virginia and Massachusetts had preferred this method of management, that is to say, desiring Congress to propose specific amendments to the several legislatures, which is one of the modes of amendment provided in the new Constitution; in this way nothing can be touched but the parts specifically pointed out. New York has written circular letters to the legislatures to adopt the other mode of amendment, provided also by the Constitution, that is to say, to assemble another federal convention. In this way the whole fabric would be submitted to alteration. Its friends, therefore, unite in endeavoring to have the first method adopted, and they seem agreed to concur in adding a bill of rights to the Constitution. This measure will bring over so great a part of the opposition, that what will remain after that will have no other than the good effect of watching, as sentinels, the conduct of government, and laying it before the public. Many of the opposition wish to take from Congress the power of internal taxation. Calculation has convinced me this would be very mis-

chievous. The Electors are to be chosen the first Wednesday of January; President the first Wednesday in February, and the new government is to meet at New York the first Wednesday in March. The election of Senators has already begun. Pennsylvania has chosen Mr. R. Morrison and McClay; Connecticut, Dr. Johnson and Elsworth. I have heard of no others. I hope there is no doubt of General Washington's acceptance of the Presidentship. Mr. J. Adams, Mr. Hancock, Mr. Jay and General Knox, are talked of in the Northern and Middle States for Vice-President. Yet it is suggested to me that the two latter will probably prefer their present offices, and the two former divide each other's interest so that neither may be chosen. Remarkable deaths are Colonel Bannister of Virginia, and John Penn of North Carolina. General Washington writes me word that the great rains had prevented the continuance of their labors on the Potomac, so that they should not be able to bring the navigation this winter to the great falls as he had hoped. It will want little of it, and no doubt remains of their completing the whole. That of James River has some time since been so far completed as to let vessels pass down to Richmond. The crop of wheat in America the last year has been a fine one both for quantity and quality. This country is likely to want. They have offered a premium of forty sous the quintal on flour of the United States, and thirty sous on their wheat imported here. They

have also opened their islands for our supplies. Much will come here. Views which bid defiance to my calculations had induced this court in an *Arret* of September 28th, to comprehend us with the English, in the exclusion of whale oil from their ports, in flat contradiction to their *Arret* of December last. This you know would be a sentence of banishment to the inhabitants of Nantucket, and there is no doubt they would have removed to Nova Scotia or England, in preference to any other part of the world. A temporary order, however, is now given for our admittance, and a more prominent one under preparation. The internal affairs of this country will, I hope, go on well. Neither the time, place, nor form of the States General are yet announced. But they will certainly meet in March or April. The clergy and nobility, as clergy and nobility eternally will, are opposed to the giving to the Tiers État so effectual a representation as may dismount them from their backs. The court wishes to give to the unprivileged order an equal number of votes with the privileged, and that they should sit in one house, but the court is timid. Some are of opinion that a majority of the nobles are also on the side of the people. I doubt it when so great a proportion of the Notables, indeed almost an unanimity, were against them, and five princes of the blood out of seven. If no schism prevents the proceedings of the States General, I suppose they will obtain in their first session, 1. The periodical convocation of the

States. 2. Their participation in the legislature; and 3. Their exclusive right to levy and appropriate money; and that at some future day, not very far distant, they will obtain a habeas corpus law and free press. They have great need of external peace to let them go on quietly with these internal improvements. This seems to be secured to them by the insanity of the King of England. Regents are generally peaceable, and I think this country will not let itself be diverted from its object by any other power. There are symptoms which render it suspicious that the two empires may make their peace with the Turks. It seems more eligible to Russia to do this by ceding the Crimea to them, that she may turn to the other side and save Poland, which the King of Prussia is endeavoring to wrest from her. Probably the loss of his principal ally will induce him to adopt a language and a conduct less Thrasonic. The death of the King of Spain contributes to throw into uncertainty the future face and fate of Europe. The English count on his successor. We have not yet received from London the decision on the question of regency. It is believed the Prince of Wales will be sole regent, and that there will be a total change in the ministry. In this case, probably 1405. 452. will be 846. 1453. 915. he will have found that the old proverb is not always true, "that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush." There is something 816. 1209. 1225. 319. 8. 1548. 173. 1140. 457. 980. 913. 537. 814. 478. 887. 1363. 12. 1271. 1266. 904. 1266. 1017. 1548. 1128. 1581. 1438. 254.

The necessity of carrying back my family to America, and of carrying my affairs, which I left under expectation of returning to them very soon, have induced me to ask of Congress a leave of five or six months' absence during the next year. I hope to obtain it in time to sail soon after the vernal equinox, and shall return immediately after the autumnal. I shall be happy while there if I can render you any service, and shall hope to receive your commands before my departure, and in the meantime a continuance of your interesting communications, now become much more so, till we see which way the new administration of your residence will turn itself. I have the honor to be, with great and sincere esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO DR. PRICE.

PARIS, January 8, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—I was favored with your letter of October 26th, and far from finding any of its subjects uninteresting as you apprehend, they were to me, as everything which comes from you, pleasing and instructive. I concur with you strictly in your opinion of the comparative merits of atheism and demonism, and really see nothing but the latter in the Being worshipped by many who think themselves Christians. Your opinions and writings will have effect in bringing others to reason on this subject.

Our new Constitution, of which you speak also, has succeeded beyond what I apprehended it would have done. I did not at first believe that eleven States out of thirteen would have consented to a plan consolidating them as much into one. A change in their dispositions, which had taken place since I left them, had rendered this consolidation necessary, that is to say, had called for a federal government which could walk upon its own legs, without leaning for support on the State legislatures. A sense of necessity, and a submission to it, is to me a new and consolatory proof that, whenever the people are well-informed, they can be trusted with their own government; that, whenever things get so far wrong as to attract their notice, they may be relied on to set them to rights. You say you are not sufficiently informed about the nature and circumstances of the present struggle here. Having been on the spot from its first origin, and watched its movements as an uninterested spectator, with no other bias than a love of mankind, I will give you my ideas of it. Though celebrated writers of this and other countries had already sketched good principles on the subject of government, yet the American war seems first to have awakened the thinking part of this nation in general from the sleep of despotism in which they were sunk. The officers too who had been to America, were mostly young men, less shackled by habit and prejudice, and more ready to assent to the dictates of common sense and common right. They

came back impressed with these. The press, notwithstanding its shackles, began to disseminate them; conversation, too, assumed new freedom; politics became the theme of all societies, male and female, and a very extensive and zealous party was formed, which may be called the Patriotic party, who, sensible of the abusive government under which they lived, longed for occasions of reforming it. This party comprehended all the honesty of the kingdom, sufficiently at its leisure to think; the men of letters, the easy bourgeois, the young nobility, partly from reflection, partly from mode; for those sentiments became a matter of mode, and as such united most of the young women to the party. Happily for the nation, it happened that, at the same moment, the dissipations of the court had exhausted the money and credit of the State, and M. de Calonnes found himself obliged to appeal to the nation, and to develop to it the ruin of their finances. He had no idea of supplying the deficit by economies, he saw no means but new taxes. To tempt the nation to consent to these some douceurs were necessary. The Notables were called in 1787. The leading vices of the constitution and administration were ably sketched out, good remedies proposed, and under the splendor of the propositions, a demand for more money was couched. The Notables concurred with the minister in the necessity of reformation, adroitly avoided the demand of money, got him displaced, and one of their leading men placed in his room. The

archbishop of Thoulouse, by the aid of the hopes formed of him, was able to borrow some money, and he reformed considerably the expenses of the court. Notwithstanding the prejudices since formed against him, he appeared to me to pursue the reformation of the laws and constitution as steadily as a man could do who had to drag the court after him, and even to conceal from them the consequences of the measures he was leading them into. In his time the criminal laws were reformed, provincial assemblies and States established in most of the provinces, the States General promised, and a solemn acknowledgment made by the King that he could not impose a new tax without the consent of the nation. It is true he was continually goaded forward by the public clamors, excited by the writings and workings of the Patriots, who were able to keep up the public fermentation at the exact point which borders on resistance, without entering on it. They had taken into their alliance the Parliaments also, who were led, by very singular circumstances, to espouse, for the first time, the rights of the nation. They had from old causes had personal hostility against M. de Calonnes. They refused to register his laws or his taxes, and went so far as to acknowledge they had no power to do it. They persisted in this with his successor, who therefore exiled them. Seeing that the nation did not interest themselves much for their recall, they began to fear that the new judicatures proposed in their place would be established and that their own sup-

pression would be perpetual. In short, they found their own strength insufficient to oppose that of the King. They, therefore, insisted that the States General should be called. Here they became united with and supported by the Patriots, and their joint influence was sufficient to produce the promise of that assembly. I always suspected that the archbishops had no objections to this force under which they laid him. But the Patriots and Parliament insisted it was their efforts which extorted the promise against his will. The re-establishment of the Parliament was the effect of the same coalition between the Patriots and Parliament; but, once re-established, the latter began to see danger in that very power, the States General, which they had called for in a moment of despair, but which they now foresaw might very possibly abridge their powers. They began to prepare grounds for questioning their legality, as a rod over the head of the States, and as a refuge if they should really extend their reformations to them. Mr. Neckar came in at this period and very dexterously disembarrassed the administration of these disputes by calling the Notables to advise the form of calling and constituting the States. The court was well disposed towards the people, not from principles of justice or love to them; but they want money. No more can be had from the people. They are squeezed to the last drop. The clergy and nobles, by their privileges and influence, have kept their property in a great measure untaxed hitherto. They

then remain to be squeezed, and no agent is powerful enough for this but the people. The court therefore must ally itself with the people. But the Notables, consisting mostly of privileged characters, had proposed a method of composing the States, which would have rendered the voice of the people, or Tiers États, in the States General, inefficient for the purpose of the court. It concurred then with the Patriots in intriguing with the Parliament to get them to pass a vote in favor of the rights of the people. This vote, balancing that of the Notables, has placed the court at liberty to follow its own views, and they have determined that the Tiers État shall have in the States General as many votes as the clergy and nobles put together. Still a great question remains to be decided, that is, shall the States General vote by orders, or by persons? precedents are both ways. The clergy will move heaven and earth to obtain the suffrage by orders, because that parries the effect of all hitherto done for the people. The people will probably send their deputies expressly instructed to consent to no tax, to no adoption of the public debts, unless the unprivileged part of the nation has a voice equal to that of the privileged; that is to say, unless the voice of the Tiers État be equalled to that of the clergy and nobles. They will have the young noblesse in general on their side, and the King and court. Against them will be the ancient nobles and the clergy. So that I hope, upon the whole, that by the time they meet, there will be a majority of the nobles

themselves in favor of the Tiers Etat. So far history. We are now to come to prophecy; for you will ask, to what will all this lead? I answer, if the States General do not stumble at the threshold on the question before stated, and which must be decided before they can proceed to business, then they will in their first session easily obtain, 1. Their future periodical convocation of the States. 2. Their exclusive right to raise and appropriate money which includes that of establishing a civil list. 3. A participation in legislation; probably at first, it will only be a transfer to them of the portion of it now exercised by parliament, that is to say, a right to propose amendments and a negative. But it must infallibly end in a right of origination. 4. Perhaps they may make a declaration of rights. It will be attempted at least. Two other objects will be attempted, viz., a habeas corpus law and a free press. But probably they may not obtain these in the first session, or with modifications only, and the nation must be left to ripen itself more for their unlimited adoption. Upon the whole, it has appeared to me that the basis of the present struggle is an illumination of the public mind as to the rights of the nation, aided by fortunate incidents; that they can never retrograde, but from the natural progress of things, must press forward to the establishment of a constitution which shall assure to them a good degree of liberty. They flatter themselves they shall form a better constitution than the English. I think it will be better in some points—worse

in others. It will be better in the article of representation, which will be more equal. It will be worse, as their situation obliges them to keep up the dangerous machine of a standing army. I doubt, too, whether they will obtain the trial by jury, because they are not sensible of its value.

I am sure I have by this time heartily tired you with this long epistle, and that you will be glad to see it brought to an end, with assurances of the sentiments of esteem and respect with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, January 11, 1789.

SIR,—My last letters were of the 14th, 19th and 29th of November, by the way of London. The present will go the same way, through a private channel.

All military operations in Europe seem to have been stopped, by the excessive severity of the weather. In this country, it is unparalleled in so early a part of the winter, and in duration, having continued since the middle of November, during which time, it has been as low as nine degrees below nought, that is to say, forty degrees below freezing, by Fahrenheit's thermometer; and it has increased the difficulties of the administration here. They had, before, to struggle with the want of money, and

want of bread for the people, and now, the want of fuel for them, and want of employment. The siege of Oczakow is still continued, the soldiers sheltering themselves in the Russian manner, in subterraneous barracks; and the Captain Pacha has retired with his fleet. The death of the King of Spain has contributed, with the insanity of the English King, to render problematical, the form which the affairs of Europe will ultimately take. Some think a peace possible between the Turks and the two Empires, with the cession of Crimea to the former, as less important to Russia than Poland, which she is in danger of losing. In this case, the two Empires might attack the King of Prussia, and the scene of war be only changed. He is certainly uneasy at the accident happened to his principal ally. There seems no doubt, but that the Prince of Wales will be sole regent; but it is also supposed, they will not give him the whole executive power, and particularly, that of declaring war without the consent of the parliament. Should his personal dispositions, therefore, and that of a new ministry, be the same which the King had, of co-operating with Prussia, yet the latter cannot count on their effect. Probably, the parliament will not consent to war, so that I think we may consider the two great powers of France and England as absolutely at rest for some time.

As the character of the Prince of Wales is becoming interesting, I have endeavored to learn what it

truly is. This is less difficult in his case, than in that of other persons of his rank, because he has taken no pains to hide himself from the world. The information I most rely on, is from a person here with whom I am intimate, who divides his time between Paris and London, an Englishman by birth, of truth, sagacity and science. He is of a circle, when in London, which has had good opportunities of knowing the Prince; but he has also, himself, had special occasions of verifying their information, by his own personal observation. He happened, when last in London, to be invited to a dinner of three persons. The Prince came by chance, and made the fourth. He ate half a leg of mutton; did not taste of small dishes, because small; drank Champagne and Burgundy, as small beer during dinner, and Bordeaux after dinner, as the rest of the company. Upon the whole, he ate as much as the other three, and drank about two bottles of wine without seeming to feel it. My informant sat next him, and being till then unknown to the Prince, personally, (though not by character,) and lately from France, the Prince confined his conversation almost entirely to him. Observing to the Prince that he spoke French without the least foreign accent, the Prince told him, that when very young, his father had put only French servants about him, and that it was to that circumstance he owed his pronunciation. He led him from this to give an account of his education, the total of which was the learning a little Latin.

He has not a single element of Mathematics, of Natural or Moral Philosophy, or of any other science on earth, nor has the society he has kept been such as to supply the void of education. It has been that of the lowest, the most illiterate and profligate persons of the kingdom, without choice of rank or mind, and with whom the subjects of conversation are only horses, drinking-matches, bawdy houses, and in terms the most vulgar. The young nobility, who begin by associating with him, soon leave him, disgusted with the insupportable profligacy of his society; and Mr. Fox, who has been supposed his favorite, and not over-nice in the choice of company, would never keep his company habitually. In fact, he never associated with a man of sense. He has not a single idea of justice, morality, religion, or of the rights of men, or any anxiety for the opinion of the world. He carries that indifference for fame so far, that he would probably not be hurt were he to lose his throne, provided he could be assured of having always meat, drink, horses, and women. In the article of women, nevertheless, he is become more correct, since his connection with Mrs. Fitzherbert, who is an honest and worthy woman: he is even less crapulous than he was. He had a fine person, but it is becoming coarse. He possesses good native common sense; is affable, polite, and very good humored. Saying to my informant, on another occasion, "your friend, such a one, dined with me yesterday, and I made him damned drunk;"

he replied, "I am sorry for it; I had heard that your royal highness had left off drinking:" the Prince laughed, tapped him on the shoulder very good naturedly, without saying a word, or ever after showing any displeasure. The Duke of York, who was for some time cried up as the prodigy of the family, is as profligate, and of less understanding. To these particular traits, from a man of sense and truth, it would be superfluous to add the general terms of praise or blame, in which he is spoken of by other persons, in whose impartiality and penetration I have less confidence. A sample is better than a description. For the peace of Europe, it is best that the King should give such gleamings of recovery, as would prevent the regent or his ministry from thinking themselves firm, and yet, that he should not recover.

This country advances with a steady pace towards the establishment of a constitution, whereby the people will resume the great mass of those powers, so fatally lodged in the hands of the King. During the session of the Notables, and after their votes against the rights of the people, the parliament of Paris took up the subject, and passed a vote in opposition to theirs (which I send you). This was not their genuine sentiment; it was a manœuvre of the young members, who are truly well disposed, taking advantage of the accidental absence of many old members, and bringing others over by the clause, which, while it admits the negative of the States

General in legislation, reserves still to the parliament the right of enregistering, that is to say, another negative. The Notables persevered in their opinion. The Princes of the blood, (Monsieur and the Duke d'Orleans excepted,) presented and published a memoir, threatening a scission. The parliament were proposing to approve of that memoir, (by way of rescinding their former vote,) and were prevented from it by the threat of a young member to impeach (*denoncer*) the memoir and the Princes who signed it. The vote of the Notables, therefore, remaining balanced by that of the Parliament, the voice of the nation becoming loud and general for the rights of the Tiers État, a strong probability that if they were not allowed one half the representation, they would send up their members with express instructions to agree to no tax and to no adoption of the public debts, and the court really wishing to give them a moiety of the representation, this was decided on ultimately. You are not to suppose that these dispositions of the court proceed from any love of the people, or justice towards their rights. Courts love the people always, as wolves do the sheep. The fact is this. The court wants money. From the Tiers État they cannot get it, because they are already squeezed to the last drop. The clergy and the nobles, by their privileges and their influence, have hitherto screened their property in a great degree, from public contribution. That half of the orange then, remains yet to be squeezed, and for this

operation there is no agent powerful enough, but the people. They are, therefore, brought forward as the favorites of the court, and will be supported by them. The moment of crisis will be the meeting of the States; because their first act will be, to decide whether they shall vote by persons or by orders. The clergy will leave nothing unattempted to obtain the latter; for they see that the spirit of reformation will not confine itself to the political, but will extend to the ecclesiastical establishment also. With respect to the nobles, the younger members are generally for the people, and the middle aged are daily coming over to the same side; so that by the time the States meet, we may hope there will be a majority of that body also in favor of the people, and consequently for voting by persons, and not by orders.

You will perceive, by the report of Mr. Neckar, (in the gazette of France,) 1, a renewal of the renunciation of the power of imposing a new tax by the King, and a like renunciation of the power of continuing any old one; 2, an acknowledgment that the States are to appropriate the public moneys, which will go to the binding the court to a civil list; 3, a consent to the periodical meeting of the States; 4, to consider of the restrictions of which *lettres de cachet* are susceptible; 5, the degree of liberty to be given to the press; 6, a bill of rights; and 7, there is a passage which looks towards the responsibility of ministers. Nothing is said of communicating to them a share in the legislation. The ministry,

perhaps, may be unwilling to part with this, but it will be insisted on in the States. The letters of convocation will not appear till towards the latter end of the month: neither time nor place are yet declared, but Versailles is talked of, and we may well presume that some time in April will be fixed on. In the meantime, Mr. Neckar gets money to keep the machine in motion. Their funds rose slowly, but steadily, till within these few days, when there was a small check. However, they stand very well, and will rise. The *caisse d'escompte* lent the government twenty-five millions, two days ago. The navy of this country sustained a heavy loss lately, by the death of the Bailli de Suffrein. He was appointed Generalissimo of the Atlantic, when war was hourly expected with England, and is certainly the officer on whom the nation would have reposed its principal hopes, in such a case. We just now hear of the death of the Speaker of the House of Commons, before the nomination of a regent, which adds a new embarrassment to the re-establishment of government in England.

Since writing mine of November the 29th, yours of the 23d of September has come to hand. As the General of the Mathurins was to be employed in the final redemption of our captives, I thought that their previous support had better be put into his hands, and conducted by himself in such a way as not to counterwork his plan of redemption, whenever we can enable him to begin on it. I gave him

full powers as to the amount and manner of subsisting them. He has undertaken it, informing me, at the same time, that it will be on a very low scale, to avoid suspicion of its coming from the public. He spoke of but three sous a day per man, as being sufficient for their physical necessaries, more than which, he thinks it not advisable to give. I have no definitive answer yet from our bankers, whether we may count on the whole million last agreed to be borrowed, but I have no doubt of it, from other information, though I have not their formal affirmative. The gazettes of Leyden and France to this date, accompany this. I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO JAMES MADISON.

PARIS, January 12, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—My last to you was of the 18th of November; since which, I have received yours of the 21st of September and October the 8th, with the pamphlet on the Mohican language, for which, receive my thanks. I endeavor to collect all the vocabularies I can, of the American Indians, as of those of Asia, persuaded, that if they ever had a common parentage, it will appear in their languages.

I was pleased to see the vote of Congress, of September the 16th, on the subject of the Mississippi, as I

had before seen, with great uneasiness, the pursuits of other principles, which I could never reconcile to my own ideas of probity or wisdom, and from which, and my knowledge of the character of our western settlers, I saw that the loss of that country was a necessary consequence. I wish this return to true policy, may be in time to prevent evil. There has been a little foundation for the reports and fears relative to the Marquis de La Fayette. He has, from the beginning, taken openly part with those who demand a constitution; and there was a moment that we apprehended the Bastile; but they ventured on nothing more, than to take from him a temporary service, on which he had been ordered; and this, more to save appearances for their own authority, than anything else; for at the very time they pretended that they had put him into disgrace, they were constantly conferring and communicating with him. Since this, he has stood on safe ground, and is viewed as among the foremost of the patriots. Everybody here is trying their hand at forming declarations of rights. As something of that kind is going on with you also, I send you two specimens from hence. The one is by our friend of whom I have just spoken. You will see that it contains the essential principles of ours, accommodated as much as could be, to the actual state of things here. The other is from a very sensible man, a pure theorist, of the sect called the economists, of which Turgot was considered as the head. The former is adapted

to the existing abuses, the latter goes to those possible, as well as to those existing.

With respect to Dr. Spence, supposed to have been taken by the Algerines, I think the report extremely improbable. O'Bryan, one of our captives there, has constantly written to me, and given me information on every subject he thought interesting. He could not have failed to know if such a capture had been made, though before his time, nor to inform me of it. I am under perpetual anxiety for our captives there. The money, indeed, is not yet ready at Amsterdam; but when it shall be, there are no orders from the board of treasury to the bankers, to furnish what may be necessary for the redemption of the captives; and it is so long since Congress approved the loan, that the orders of the treasury for the application of the money would have come, if they had intended to send any. I wrote to them early on the subject, and pointedly. I mentioned it to Mr. Jay also, merely that he might suggest it to them. The payments to the foreign officers, will await the same formality.

I thank you for your attention to the case of Mrs. Burke. We have no news of Dr. Franklin since July last, when he was very ill. Though the silence of our letters on that subject is a proof that he is well, yet there is an anxiety here among his friends. We have lately had three books published, which are of great merit, in different lines. The one is in seven volumes, octavo, by an Abbé Barthelemy,

wherein he has collected every subject of Grecian literature, after a labor of thirty years. It is called "*Les voyages d'Anacharsis.*" I have taken a copy for you, because the whole impression was likely to be run off at once. The second is a work on government, by the Marquis de Condorcet, two volumes, octavo. I shall secure you a copy. The third are the works of the King of Prussia, in sixteen volumes, octavo. These were a little garbled at Berlin, before printed. The government lays its hands on all which come here, and change some leaves. There is a genuine edition published at Balse, where even the garblings of Berlin are re-established. I doubt the possibility of getting a copy, so vigilant is the government as to this work. I shall obtain you one, if it be possible. As I write all the public news to Mr. Jay, I will not repeat it to you. I have just received the Flora Caroliniana of Walter, a very learned and good work. I am, with very sincere esteem and respect, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, January 14, 1789.

SIR,—In my letter of the 11th, I have said nothing of the *Arret* explanatory of that of September the 28th, on the subject of whale oils, which my letter of November the 19th gave you reason to expect. Though this explanatory *Arret* has been

passed so long ago as the 7th of December, it has not been possible for me to obtain an authentic copy of it, till last night. I now enclose that to you, with a copy of a letter to me from Mr. Neckar, on the subject. The reception of our oils, in the meantime, is provided for by an intermediate order. You will observe, that in the *Arret* it is said to be passed "provisoirement," and that Mr. Neckar expressly holds up to us in his letter, a repeal, whenever the national fishery supplies their wants. The *Arret*, however, is not limited in its duration, and we have several chances against its repeal. It may be questioned, whether Mr. Neckar thinks the fishery worth the expense. It may be well questioned, whether, either with or without encouragement, the nation whose navigation is the least economical of all in Europe, can ever succeed in the whale fishery, which calls for the most rigorous economy. It is hoped that a share in the legislation will pass immediately into the hands of the States General, so as to be no longer in the power of the *commis* of a bureau, or even of his minister to smuggle a law through, unquestioned; and we may even hope that the national demand for this oil will increase faster than both their and our fisheries together will supply. But in spite of all these hopes, if the English should find means to cover their oils under our name, there will be great danger of a repeal. It is essential, then, that our government take effectual measures to prevent the English from obtaining genuine sea

papers, that they enable their consuls in the ports of France (as soon as they shall be named) to detect counterfeit papers, and that we convince this government that we use our best endeavors with good faith, as it is clearly our interest to do; for the rivalship of the English, is the only one we have to fear. It had already begun to render our oils invendible in the ports of France. You will observe that Mr. Neckar renews the promise of taking off the ten sous *pour* livre, at the end of the next year.

Oczakow is at length taken by assault. The assailants were fourteen thousand, and the garrison twelve thousand, of whom seven thousand were cut to pieces before they surrendered. The Russians lost three thousand men. This is the Russian version, of which it is safe to believe no part, but that Oczakow is taken. The Speaker of the English House of Commons, having died suddenly, they have chosen Mr. Grenville, a young man of twenty seven years of age. This proves that Mr. Pitt is firm with the present parliament.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO MR. ADAMS.

PARIS, January 14, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—I now do myself the pleasure to enclose to you a copy of the *Arret* explanatory of that of

September 28th, on the subject of our whale oils. Mr. Neckar in a letter to me has reserved the promise of taking off the ten sous per livre at the end of the next year. But, at the same time, he observes that whenever the national fishery shall be able to supply their demand for whale oil, we must expect a repeal of this *Arret*, which therefore expresses itself to be *provisory*. However, their navigation being the most expensive in Europe, they are the least likely to succeed in a whale fishery, without encouragements more extravagant than even those they now give; and it remains to be seen whether Mr. Neckar will continue to give even the present. I am informed there will be fewer French adventurers the next year than there has been this; so that if there be an apparent increase of their fishery, it will be by drawing over more of our fishermen. It is probable the States General will obtain a participation in the legislation, which will render their laws more stable, and more to be relied on. Mr. Neckar has also promised that if the present *Arret* should at any time be repealed, there shall be a sufficient space of time allowed for the reception of the oils which shall have been previously embarked. But our principal, if not our only danger, of a repeal being brought on, will come from the endeavors of the English to introduce their oils under color of ours, perhaps even with the assistance of our own merchants. Some effectual means must be adopted to prevent them from

getting our real ship papers, and our consuls in the ports of France must be enabled to detect forged papers; and we must moreover convince this government that we use our utmost endeavors, and with good faith, to prevent the entry of English oils under the license given to us. I would advise our shippers of oil always to get the certificate of the French consul in their State, if it be practicable, because those will admit of the least doubt here. When this cannot be had, they may have recourse to the magistrates of the country, and in this case there should be a certificate under the seal of the State, that the magistrate who has certified their oil to be the produce of the American fishery, is a magistrate duly appointed and qualified by law, and that his signature is genuine. I presume it is the usage in all the States for the Governors' signature to accompany the great seal. Oczakow is at length taken. The Russians say they gave the assault with fourteen thousand men, against twelve thousand within the walls, that seven thousand of these suffered themselves to be cut to pieces before they surrendered, and that themselves lost three thousand. The only circumstance to be believed in all this, is that Oczakow is taken. Everything else in Europe is quiet, except the internal affairs of Poland. The Prussian party there gains greater superiority daily. The King of Prussia, however, will feel less bold on the probability that England will remain inactive in all things external. This secures to this country

leisure for their internal improvements. These go on well. The report of Mr. Neckar to the King, which has been published, renews the renunciation of the power of laying a new tax or continuing an old one without consent of the States General; admits they are to appropriate the public moneys (and of course how much of it the King may spend), that ministers must be responsible, that the King will concur in fixing the periodical meeting of the States, that he will be ready to consider with them what modifications, *lettres de cachet* should be put under, and of the decree of liberty which may be given to the press; and further, that all this shall be fixed by a convention so solemn as that his successor shall not be free to infringe it; that is to say, that he will concur in a declaration of rights. Nothing is said, however, of the States sharing in the legislation, but they will surely be passed. They have given to the *Tiers État* a representation in the States equal to both the other orders, and it is probable they will form but one house and vote by persons; but that is not decided. Be so good as to present me affectionately to Mrs. Adams, and to be assured yourself, of the sincere esteem of, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO MADAME NECKER.

PARIS, January 24, 1789.

I have received, Madam, with a great deal of sensibility, the letter of the 22d instant, with which you

were pleased to honor me, on the claims of Monsieur Klein against the United States; and immediately endeavored to inform myself of their foundation, by an examination of the journals of Congress. Congress, consisting of many persons, can only speak by the organ of their records. If they have any engagements, they are to be found there. If not found there, they can never have existed. I proceeded to this examination, with all the partialities which were naturally inspired by the interest you are so good as to take in his behalf, the desire of doing what will be agreeable to you, and a disposition to obtain for him the justice which might be his due. I have extracted, literally, from those journals, everything I find in them on his subject, and I take the liberty of enclosing you those extracts. From them, as well as from what I recollect of the ordinary train of business about the years 1778 and 1779, I presume the following to be very nearly the history of Monsieur Klein's case.

Congress were generally desirous of adding to their army during the war. Among other methods attempted, it was usual for foreigners (multitudes of whom went to ask command), when they found there was no vacancy, to propose to raise troops themselves, on condition they should have commissions to command them. I suppose that Messrs. Klein, Fearer and Kleinsmit (named in the resolution of Congress of 1788, and whom, from their names, I conjecture to be Germans), offered to enlist

a body of men from among the German prisoners taken with General Burgoyne at Saratoga, on condition that Fearer and Kleinsmit should be captains over them, and Klein, lieutenant colonel. Three months seem to have been allowed them for raising their corps. However, at the end of ten months it seems they had engaged but twenty-four men, and that all of these, except five, had deserted. Congress, therefore, put an end to the project, June the 21st, 1779 (and not in July, 1780, as Monsieur Klein says), by informing him they had no farther use for his services, and giving him a year's pay and subsistence to bring him to Europe. He chose to stay there three and a half longer, as he says, to solicit what was due to him. Nothing could ever have been due to him, but pay and subsistence for the ten months he was trying to enlist men, and the donation of a year's pay and subsistence; and it is not probable he would wait three years and a half to receive these. I suppose he has staid in hopes of finding some other opening for employment. If these articles of pay and subsistence have not been paid to him, he has the certificates of the paymaster and commissary to prove it; because it was an invariable rule, when demands could not be paid, to give the party a certificate, to establish the sum due to him. If he has not such a certificate, it is a proof he has been paid. If he has it, he can produce it, and, in that case, I will undertake to represent his claim to our government, and will answer for their justice.

It would be easy to correct several inaccuracies in the letter of Monsieur Klein, such as that Congress *engaged* to give him a regiment; that he paid the recruiting money *out of his own pocket;* that his soldiers had *nothing but bread and water;* that Congress had promised him they would pay his soldiers in *specie*, etc.; some of which are impossible, and others very improbable; but these would be details too lengthy, Madam, for you to be troubled with. Klein's object is to be received at the hospital of invalids. I presume he is not of the description of persons entitled to be received there, and that his American commission and American grievances, are the only ground he has whereon to raise a claim to reception. He has, therefore, tried to make the most of them. Few think there is any immorality in scandalizing governments or ministers; and M. Klein's distresses render this resource more innocent in him than it is in most others.

Your commands, Madam, to give what information I could, have drawn thus much from me. I would not wish to weaken the hopes he so justly rests on your known goodness and benevolence. On the contrary, the weaker his claim elsewhere, the stronger they will plead in your bosom to procure him relief; and whatever may be done for him here, I repeat it, that if he has any just demand against the United States, and will furnish me with proofs of it, I will solicit it with zeal, and, I trust, with effect. To procure him justice will be one gratifica-

tion, and a great additional one will be, that he has procured me the occasion of offering you my portion of the general tribute so justly due for all the good you have done, and all you are perpetually endeavoring to do. Accept then, Madam, I pray you, this homage from one whose motives are pure truth and justice, when he assures you of the sincerity of those sentiments of esteem and respect with which he has the honor to be, Madam, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, February 4, 1789.

SIR,—Your favor of November the 25th, by Gouverneur Morris, is duly received. I must beg you to take the trouble of deciphering yourself what follows, and to communicate it to nobody but the President, at least for the present.

We had before understood, through different channels, that the conduct of Count de Moustier was politically and morally offensive. It was delicate for me to speak on the subject to the Count de Montmorin. The invaluable mediation of our friend, the Marquis de La Fayette, was therefore resorted to, and the subject explained, though not pressed. Later intelligence showing the necessity of pressing it, it was yesterday resumed, and represented through the same medium to the Count de Montmorin, that recent information proved to us, that

his minister's conduct had rendered him personally odious in America, and might even influence the dispositions of the two nations; that his recall was become a matter of mutual concern; that we had understood he was instructed to remind the new government of their debt to this country, and that he was in the purpose of doing it in very harsh terms; that this could not increase their desire of hastening payment, and might wound their affections; that, therefore, it was much to be desired that his discretion should not be trusted to, as to the form in which the demand should be made, but that the letter should be written here, and he instructed to add nothing but his signature; nor was his private conduct omitted. The Count de Montmorin was sensibly impressed. He very readily determined that the letter should be formed here, but said that the recall was a more difficult business; that as they had no particular fact to allege against the Count de Moustier, they could not recall him from that ministry without giving him another, and there was no vacancy at present. However, he would hazard his first thoughts on the subject, saving the right of correcting them by further consideration. They were these: that there was a loose expression in one of de Moustier's letters, which might be construed into a petition for leave of absence; that he would give him permission to return to France; that it had been before decided, on the request of the Marquis de La Luzerne, that Otto should go to him to London;

that they would send a person to America as chargé des affaires in place of Otto, and that if the President (General Washington) approved of him, he should be afterwards made minister. He had cast his eye on Colonel Ternant, and desired the Marquis to consult me whether he would be agreeable. At first I hesitated, recollecting to have heard Ternant represented in America as an hypochondriac, discontented man, and paused for a moment between him and Barthelemy, at London, of whom I have heard a great deal of good. However, I concluded it safer to take one whom we knew, and who knew us. The Marquis was decidedly of this opinion. Ternant will see that his predecessor is recalled for unconciliatory deportment, and that he will owe his own promotion to the approbation of the President. He established a solid reputation in Europe, by his conduct when Generalissimo of one of the United Provinces, during their late disturbances; and it is generally thought, that if he had been put at the head of the principal province, instead of the Rhingrave de Salm, he would have saved that cause. Upon the whole, I believe you may expect that the Count de Moustier will have an immediate leave of absence, which will soon after become a recall in effect. I will try, also, to have the consuls admonished as to the line of conduct they should observe. I shall have the honor of writing you a general letter within a few days. I have now that of assuring you of the sentiment of sincere esteem and respect, with

which I am, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO WILLIAM SHORT.

PARIS, February 9, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you last on the 22d of January, on which day I received yours of December the 31st, and since that, the other of January the 14th. We have now received news from America down to the middle of December. They had then had no cold weather. All things relative to our new Constitution were going on well. Federal senators are: New Hampshire, President Langdon and Bartlett. Massachusetts, Strong and Dalton. Connecticut, Dr. Johnson and Ellsworth. New Jersey, Patterson and Ellmer. Pennsylvania, Robert Morris and M'Clay. Delaware, Reed and Bassett. Virginia, Richard Henry Lee and Grayson. Maryland, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and John Henry. All of these are federalists except those of Virginia; so that a majority of federalists are secured in the Senate, and expected in the House of Representatives. General Washington will be President, and probably Mr. Adams Vice-President. So that the Constitution will be put under way by those who will give it a fair trial. It does not seem probable that the attempt of New York to have another convention to make amendments, will succeed, though Virginia concurs in it. It is tolerably certain that Congress will propose amendments to the Assemblies, as even

the friends of the Constitution are willing to make amendments; some from a conviction they are necessary, others, from a spirit of conciliation. The addition of a bill of rights, will, probably, be the most essential change. A vast majority of anti-federalists have got into the Assembly of Virginia, so that Mr. Henry is omnipotent there. Mr. Madison was left out as a senator by eight or nine votes; and Henry has so modelled the districts for representatives, as to tack Orange to counties where he himself has great influence, that Madison may not be elected into the lower federal House, which was the place he had wished to serve in, and not the Senate. Henry pronounced a philippic against Madison in open Assembly, Madison being then at Philadelphia. Mifflin is President of Pennsylvania, and Peters, Speaker. Colonel Howard is Governor of Maryland. Beverly Randolph, Governor of Virginia; (this last is said by a passenger only, and he seems not very sure). Colonel Humphreys is attacked in the papers for his French airs, for bad poetry, bad prose, vanity, etc. It is said his dress, in so gay a style, gives general disgust against him. I have received a letter from him. He seems fixed with General Washington. Mayo's bridge, at Richmond, was completed, and carried away in a few weeks. While up, it was so profitable that he had great offers for it. A turnpike is established at Alexandria, and succeeds. Rhode Island has again refused to call a convention. Spain has granted to Colonel Morgan, of New Jersey,

a vast tract of land on the western side of the Mississippi, with the monopoly of the navigation of that river. He is inviting settlers, and they swarm to him. Even the settlement of Kentucky is likely to be much weakened by emigrations to Morgan's grant. Warville has returned, charmed with our country. He is going to carry his wife and children to settle there. Gouverneur Morris has just arrived here; deputed, as is supposed, to settle Robert Morris' affairs, which continue still deranged. Doctor Franklin was well when he left America, which was about the middle of December.

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I send Mr. Rutledge two letters by this post. Be so good as to present him my esteem, and to be assured yourself of the sincere esteem and attachment with which I am, and shall ever be, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and servant.

TO M. DE VILLEDEUIL.

PARIS, February 10, 1789.

SIR,—I take the liberty of troubling your Excellency with the following case, which I understand to be within your department. Mr. Jay, Secretary for Foreign Affairs to the United States of America, having occasion to send me despatches of great importance, and by a courier express, confided them to a Mr. Nesbitt, who offered himself in that char-

acter. He has delivered them safely; but, in the moment of delivering them, explained to me his situation, which is as follows. He was established in commerce at L'Orient during the war. Losses by shipwreck, by capture, and by the conclusion of the peace at a moment when he did not expect it, reduced him to bankruptcy, and he returned to America, without the consent of his creditors, to make the most of his affairs there. He has been employed in this ever since, and now wishing to see his creditors, and to consult them on their mutual interests, he availed himself of Mr. Jay's demand for a courier, to come under the safe conduct of that character to Paris, where he flattered himself he might obtain that of your Excellency, for the purpose of seeing his creditors, settling and arranging with them. He thinks a twelvemonth will be necessary for this. Understanding that it is not unusual to grant safe conducts in such cases, and persuaded it will be for the benefit of his creditors, I take the liberty of enclosing his memoir to your excellency, and of soliciting your favorable attention to it, assured that it will not be denied him, if it be consistent with the established usage; and if inadmissible, praying that your Excellency will have the goodness to give me as early an answer as the other arduous occupations in which you are engaged will admit, in order that he may know whether he may see his creditors, or must return without. I am encouraged to trouble your Excellency with this application, by the goodness

with which you have been pleased to attend to our interests on former occasions, and by the desire of availing myself of every occasion of proffering to you the homage of those sentiments of attachment and respect, with which I have the honor to be, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO MR. WILLIAM SHORT.

PARIS, February 28, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you last on the 9th instant. Yours of the 11th, came to hand yesterday evening. Some of its enquiries will have already been answered to you. We have no information from America down to the middle of January. Things were going on so well that our letters afford nothing interesting scarcely. The opposition to the new Constitution grows feebler. Everywhere the elections are federal. In New York they had not yet been able to agree in the choice of senators, nor even in the manner of choosing. The new government begins on Wednesday next. Its friends consent to some changes, and particularly to the annexation of a declaration of rights. This will probably be proposed by Congress to the several assemblies, and thus a new convention be avoided. The Virginia Assembly met October 23. They choose for their speaker, Thomas Mathews, (who is this?). They are furiously anti-federal. They have passed a bill rendering every

person holding any federal office incapable of holding at the same time any State office. This is a declaration of war against the new Constitution. Mr. Adams is generally expected to be the Vice-President. Hancock is his only competitor. Others are sometimes talked of, but not with their own consent. I see in a Virginia paper of last summer, that George Nicholas advertised his departure to settle in Kentucky this present month of February. Great numbers of American vessels are now arriving in the ports of France with flour and wheat, in consequence of the demand of this country and of the bounty it gives. I have received a letter from Ladian, dated Grand Cairo, September 10. He was just then about to plunge into the *terræ incogniæ* of Africa. This morning, I received one from Admiral Paul Jones, dated St. Petersburg, January 30, he was just arrived there at the desire of the Empress. He has commanded hitherto on the Black Sea, but does not know whether the Empress destines him to return there or to take any other command.

There has been an affray in Brittany between the Noblesse and people, in which some few were killed. Things there are now quiet, and all the rest of the kingdom is going on well towards its object. In some places, as in Burgundy and Franche-compte, there is an opposition by the Noblesse indeed against the manifest sense of the nation, but I do not apprehend any serious evil from it. The States General are likely to meet under happy auspices. It would

seem that the government thinks they will end well, because I observe in their communications with certain unfriendly courts they assume a tone which had been laid aside for some time. Their effects stand well. * * * * * *

The King of England seems to be in a state of convalescence. The symptoms of a return of reason are such that on the 19th instant the House of Lords put off the reading of the Regency bill, and it is even thought there will be no regency, nor any change of ministry. There are not yet sufficient data to ground a judgment whether there will be peace or not between the Turks and the two empires, nor what part Russia will take in the affairs of Poland. The preparations of Sweden and Denmark so far announce a continuation of the war. You have heard, doubtless, of the revolution which took place in Geneva about the last of January. It was the work of three or four days only, and with little bloodshed their ancient constitution is almost completely re-established. Their exiles are to be recalled, the foreign garrison sent off, the Bourgeois guard the city, and the nomination of the Syndics is restored to the council of two hundred. I see no reason to doubt the permanence of this reformation. Here all your acquaintances are well. I continue to keep my house and on such terms as will induce me to keep it as long as I remain in Europe. I fear my departure in the spring may be retarded, as Gouverneur Morris tells me there would be no probability

that the old Congress would re-assemble. In this case I cannot receive my leave of absence from the new government. I have proposed to them the naming you *Chargé des Affaires* to take care of their business during my absence. You know that we must not be too sanguine on these occasions.

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TO DR. BANCROFT.

PARIS, March 2, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—I have just received a letter of January 31st from Admiral Paul Jones, at Petersburg, in which, charging me with the execution of some commissions, and these requiring money, he tells me you will answer my drafts to the amount of four or five thousand livres, on his account. Be so good as to inform me whether you will pay such drafts.

A Monsieur Foulloy, who has been connected with Deane, lately offered me for sale two volumes of Deane's letter books and account books, that he had taken instead of money, which Deane owed him. I have purchased them on public account. He tells me Deane has still six or eight volumes more, and being to return soon to London, he will try to get them also, in order to make us pay high for them. You are sensible of the impropriety of letting such books get into hands which might make an unfriendly use of them. You are sensible of the immorality of an ex-minister's selling his secrets for

money; and consequently that there can be no immorality in tempting him with money to part with them; so that they may be restored to that government to whom they properly belong. Your former acquaintance with Deane may, perhaps, put it in your power to render our country the service of recovering those books. It would not do to propose it to him as for Congress. What other way would best bring it about, you know best. I suppose his distresses and his crapulous habits, will not render him difficult on this head. On the supposition that there are six or eight volumes, I think you might venture as far as fifty guineas, and proportionably for fewer. I will answer your draft to this amount and purpose, or you may retain it out of any moneys you may propose to pay me for Admiral Jones. There is no time to lose in this negotiation, as, should Foulloy arrive there before it is closed, he will spoil the bargain. If you should be able to recover these books, I would ask the favor of you to send them to me by the Diligence, that I may carry them back with me to America. I make no apology for giving you this trouble. It is for our common country, and common interest.

I am, with sincere and great esteem and attachment, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO MR. SHIPPEN.

PARIS, March 11, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—I had wished to acknowledge the receipt of your favors of January the 19th, and February the 3d, by a private conveyance, but none such having occurred, nor being likely to occur, I must write you such a letter as may go through the inspection of both post offices.

The affairs of this country are still going on well. There are loud contestations indeed in one or two of the provinces, and in Brittany these have come to blows, and some three or four or five people have been killed. Still the opposition to the revolution which is working has been miraculously small, and he who would predict of its failure from the little obstacles which have happened, would be about as good a prophet as he who, from the loss of two or three skirmishes on our part, would have foretold our final failure in the American revolution. All the world here is occupied in electioneering, in choosing or being chosen; and, as far as Paris may be considered as affording a specimen of the public mind, we may say it is almost thoroughly ripe for a just decision of the great question of voting by orders or by persons. The difficulties which now appear threatening to my mind, are those which will result from the size of the Assembly. Twelve hundred persons of any rank and of any nation assembled together, would with difficulty be prevented from

tumult and confusion. But when they are to compose an assembly for which no rules of debate or proceeding have been yet formed, in whom no habits of order have been yet established, and to consist moreover of Frenchmen, among whom there are always more speakers than listeners, I confess to you I apprehend some danger. However, I still hope that the goodness of the body, and the coolness and collectedness of some of their leaders, will keep them in the right way, and that this great Assembly will end happily.

The war in the north will, I think, continue, and perhaps spread as far as Prussia. The present and probable situation of the Executive in England, will, I presume, prevent their engaging otherwise than by giving money. If so, this country will certainly not engage herself the present year, and after the present year, if her States General pass over well, she will be in a condition to do what she pleases. I have lately received a letter from Admiral Paul Jones, dated at Petersburg, about the last of January. He was just arrived there on the call of the Empress, and uninformed where he was to act the ensuing campaign. We have no news from America later than the 10th of January, when things were going on well. I find that the friends of the new Constitution are generally disposed to make such changes as may be requisite to guard liberty. This will probably reconcile the bulk of the opposition. Nothing would be more agreeable to me than

your company on our voyage to Virginia, and I am sorry I am unable to give such an idea of the epoch of it, as might enable you to decide whether it suited you. Gouverneur Morris, who is here, informs me that not only there was no Congress when he came away, but that none was expected till the new government. My letters asking leave of absence were not then arrived, and consequently I cannot have that leave but from the new government, nor expect that even they will take it up among their first subjects. This renders the time of my receiving permission uncertain, and should it be so late as that I cannot go, do my business there, and return in the fall, I shall prefer postponing my departure hence to the fall, so that I may return in the spring, being quite decided against a winter passage. You see, therefore, my dear Sir, the impossibility of my fixing the epoch of my departure. Pray continue to me during your stay your interesting political information, and accept assurances of the esteem and respect with which I am, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, March 12, 1789.

SIR,—I had the honor of addressing you on the 1st instant, through the post. I write the present, uncertain whether Mr. Nesbitt, the bearer of your last, will be the bearer of this, or whether it may not

have to wait some other private occasion. They have re-established their packet-boats here indeed; but they are to go from Bordeaux, which, being between four and five hundred miles from hence, is too far to send a courier with any letters but on the most extraordinary occasions; and without a courier, they must pass through the post office. I shall, therefore, not make use of this mode of conveyance, but prefer sending my letters by a private hand, by the way of London. The uncertainty of finding private conveyances to London, is the principal objection to this.

On the receipt of your letter, advising me to purchase the two volumes of Deane's letters and accounts, I wrote to the person who had them, and after some offers and refusals, he let me have them for twenty-five louis, instead of twenty louis asked at first. He told me that Deane had still six or eight volumes more, and that when he should return to London, he would try to get them, in order to make himself whole for the money he had lent Deane. As I knew he would endeavor to make us pay dear for them, and it appeared to be your opinion and that of the members you had consulted, that it was an object worthy attention, I wrote immediately to a friend in London, to endeavor to purchase them from Deane himself, whose distresses and crapulous habits will probably render him more easy to deal with. I authorized him to go as far as fifty guineas. I have as yet no answer

from him. I enclose you a letter which I wrote last month to our bankers in Holland. As it will itself explain the cause of its being written, I shall not repeat its substance here. In answer to my proposition, to pay bills for the medals and the redemption of our captives, they quote a resolution of Congress (which, however, I did not find in the printed journals) appropriating the loans of 1787 and 1788 to the payment of interest on the Dutch loans till 1790, inclusive, and the *residue* to salaries and contingencies in Europe, and they argue that, according to this, they are not to pay anything in Europe, till they shall first have enough to pay all the interest which will become due to the end of the year 1790; and that it is out of personal regard, that they relax from this so far as to pay diplomatic salaries. So that there is a clear declaration they will answer no other demands, till they have in hand money enough for all the interest to the end of the year 1790. It is but a twelvemonth since I have had occasion to pay attention to the proceedings of those gentlemen; but during that time, I have observed, that as soon as a sum of interest is becoming due, they are able to borrow just that, and no more; or, at least, only so much more as may pay our salaries and keep us quiet. Were they not to borrow for the interest, the failure to pay that would sink the value of the capital, of which they are considerable sharers. So far, their interests and ours concur. But there, perhaps, they may separate. I think it

possible, they may choose to support our credit to a certain point, and let it go no further, but at their will; to keep it so poised, as that it may be at their mercy. By this, they may be sure to keep us in their own hands. They write word to the treasury, that in order to raise money for the February interest, they were obliged to agree with the subscribers, that Congress should open no other loan at Amsterdam this year, till this one be filled up, and that this shall not be filled but by the present subscribers, and they not obliged to fill it. This is delivering us, bound hand and foot, to the subscribers, that is, to themselves. Finding that they would not raise money for any other purpose, without being pushed, I wrote the letter I enclose you. They answer, as I have stated, by refusing to pay, alleging the appropriation of Congress. I have written again, to press them further, and to propose to them the payment of thirty thousand florins only, for the case of our captives, as I am in hopes this may do. In the close of my letter to them, you will observe I refer them, as to the article of foreign officers, to the board of treasury. I had, in truth, received the printed journals a few days before, but had not yet had time to read them carefully, and particularly had not then noted the vote of Congress of August the 20th, directing me to attend to that article. I shall not fail to do what I can in it; but I am afraid they will consider this also as standing on the same ground with the other contingent articles.

This country, being generally engaged in its elections, affords nothing new and worthy of communication. The hopes of accommodation between Turkey and the two empires, do not gain strength. The war between Russia and Denmark on the one hand, and Sweden on the other, is likely also to go on, the mediation of England being rendered of little force by the accident to its Executive. The progress of this war, and also of the broils in Poland, may possibly draw the King of Prussia into it, during the ensuing campaign; and it must, before it be finished, take in this country, and perhaps England. The ill humor on account of the Dutch revolution continues to rankle here. They have recalled their ambassador from the Hague, and manifestly to show their dissatisfaction with that court, and some very dry memorials have lately been exchanged, on the subject of the money this country assumed to pay the Emperor, for the Dutch. I send you very full extracts of these, which will show you the dispositions of the two courts towards each other. Whether, and when this country will be able to take an active part, will depend on the issue of the States General. If they fund their public debts judiciously, and will provide further funds for a war, on the English plan, I believe they will be able to borrow any sums they please. In the meantime, the situation of England will leave them at leisure to settle their internal affairs well. That ministry, indeed, pretend their King is perfectly re-established. No

doubt they will make the most of his amendment, which is real, to a certain degree. But as, under pretence of this, they have got rid of the daily certificates of the physicians, and they are possessed of the King's person, the public must judge hereafter from such facts only as they can catch. There are several at present which, put together, induce a presumption that the King is only better, not well. And should he be well, time will be necessary to give a confidence, that it is not merely a lucid interval. On the whole, I think we may conclude, that that country will not take a part in the war this year, which was by no means certain before.

M. del Pinto, formerly minister of Portugal at London, and the same who negotiated the treaty with us, being now put at the head of the ministry of that country, I presume that negotiation may be renewed successfully, if it be the desire of our government. Perhaps an admission of our flour into their ports may be obtained now, as M. del Pinto seemed impressed with our reasoning on that subject, and promised to press it on his court, though he could not then venture to put it into the treaty. There is not the same reason to hope any relaxation as to our reception in Brazil, because he would scarcely let us mention that at all. I think, myself, that it is their interest to take away all temptations to our co-operation in the emancipation of their colonies; and I know no means of doing this, but the making it our interest that they should continue

dependent, nor any other way of making this our interest, but by allowing us a commerce with them. However, this is a mode of reasoning which their ministry, probably, could not bear to listen to.

I send herewith the gazettes of France and Leyden, and have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO FRANCIS HOPKINSON.

PARIS, March 13, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—Since my last, which was of December the 21st, yours of December the 9th and 21st are received. Accept my thanks for the papers and pamphlets which accompanied them, and mine and my daughter's, for the book of songs. I will not tell you how much they have pleased us, nor how well the last of them merits praise for its pathos, but relate a fact only, which is, that while my elder daughter was playing it on the harpsichord, I happened to look towards the fire, and saw the younger one all in tears. I asked her if she was sick? She said "no; but the tune was so mournful."

The Editor of the Encyclopédie has published something as to an advanced price on his future volumes, which, I understand, alarms the subscribers. It was in a paper which I do not take, and therefore I have not yet seen it, nor can I say what it is. I hope that by this time you have ceased to make wry faces about your vinegar, and that

you have received it safe and good. You say that I have been dished up to you as an anti-federalist, and ask me if it be just. My opinion was never worthy enough of notice to merit citing; but since you ask it, I will tell it to you. I am not a federalist, because I never submitted the whole system of my opinions to the creed of any party of men whatever, in religion, in philosophy, in politics or in anything else, where I was capable of thinking for myself. Such an addiction, is the last degradation of a free and moral agent. If I could not go to heaven but with a party, I would not go there at all. Therefore, I am not of the party of federalists. But I am much farther from that of the anti-federalists. I approved, from the first moment, of the great mass of what is in the new Constitution; the consolidation of the government; the organization into executive, legislative, and judiciary; the subdivision of the legislative; the happy compromise of interests between the great and little States, by the different manner of voting in the different Houses; the voting by persons instead of States; the qualified negative on laws given to the executive, which, however, I should have liked better if associated with the judiciary also, as in New York; and the power of taxation. I thought at first that the latter might have been limited. A little reflection soon convinced me it ought not to be. What I disapproved from the first moment also, was the want of a bill of rights, to guard liberty against the legis-

lative as well as the executive branches of the government; that is to say, to secure freedom in religion, freedom of the press, freedom from monopolies, freedom from unlawful imprisonment, freedom from a permanent military, and a trial by jury, in all cases determinable by the laws of the land. I disapproved, also, the perpetual re-eligibility of the President. To these points of disapprobation I adhere. My first wish was, that the nine first conventions might accept the constitution, as the means of securing to us the great mass of good it contained, and that the four last might reject it, as the means of obtaining amendments. But I was corrected in this wish, the moment I saw the much better plan of Massachusetts, and which had never occurred to me. With respect to the declaration of rights, I suppose the majority of the United States are of my opinion; for I apprehend, all the anti-federalists and a very respectable proportion of the federalists, think that such a declaration should now be annexed. The enlightened part of Europe have given us the greatest credit for inventing the instrument of security for the rights of the people, and have been not a little surprised to see us so soon give it up. With respect to the re-eligibility of the President, I find myself differing from the majority of my countrymen; for I think there are but three States out of the eleven which have desired an alteration of this. And indeed, since the thing is established, I would wish it not to be altered during the life of our

great leader, whose executive talents are superior to those, I believe, of any man in the world, and who, alone, by the authority of his name and the confidence reposed in his perfect integrity, is fully qualified to put the new government so under way, as to secure it against the efforts of opposition. But, having derived from our error all the good there was in it, I hope we shall correct it, the moment we can no longer have the same name at the helm.

These, my dear friend, are my sentiments, by which you will see I was right in saying I am neither federalist nor anti-federalist; that I am of neither party, nor yet a trimmer between parties. These, my opinions, I wrote within a few hours after I had read the Constitution, to one or two friends in America. I had not then read one single word printed on the subject. I never had an opinion in politics or religion, which I was afraid to own. A costive reserve on these subjects might have procured me more esteem from some people, but less from myself. My great wish is, to go on in a strict but silent performance of my duty; to avoid attracting notice, and to keep my name out of newspapers, because I find the pain of a little censure, even when it is unfounded, is more acute than the pleasure of much praise. The attaching circumstance of my present office, is, that I can do its duties unseen by those for whom they are done. You did not think, by so short a phrase in your letter, to have drawn on yourself such an egotistical dissertation. I beg your pardon for it,

and will endeavor to merit that pardon by the constant sentiments of esteem and attachment with which I am, dear Sir, your sincere friend and servant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY COUNT DE MOUSTIER.

PARIS, March 13, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—I have now to acknowledge the honor of your several letters of Aug. 12th, Oct. 17th, and Nov. 27th, and your postcript to Madame de Brehan's of Dec. 29th. I have been discouraged from writing to you by the idea that your friends here must give you infinitely more exact information of what is passing, than I could do, who see things imperfectly only, as a stranger. But your complaints of the inexactitude of your friends in this point, will induce me hereafter to hazard more freely my communications, however imperfect. The affairs of this country go on more auspiciously than the most sanguine could have expected. The difficulties of procuring money, and of preventing a bankruptcy, continue always at such a point as to leave the administration no resource but that of an appeal to the nation, and the nation, availing itself of their advantageous position, presses on sufficiently to obtain reasonable concessions, and yet not so much as to endanger an appeal to arms. In fact, the King is altogether out of the dispute. He has said he is ready to agree to such and such articles, and the dispute is between the

privileged and unprivileged orders, how they shall divide these concessions between them. An equal taxation is agreed to by everybody; the only question is on the mode of voting; and even in this I think there is already a majority of the nobles in favor of voting by persons. Should this be the case, and should it be found practicable to organize so numerous a body as twelve hundred, so as to avoid tumult, we may hope a happy issue from the approaching convocation. One of their great objects will be to fund the public debts, and if this operation be judiciously executed, and their expenses reduced within the limits of their revenue, I see nothing to prevent their possessing the first credit in Europe, and being, of course, in a condition to enter on the stage again more respectably than they ever yet did. But they must be left in quiet this year at least. Longer still would be still better. The present situation of the antagonist nation is favorable to the necessary repose of this country. It is impossible that England can venture to engage itself in a war this year. Were the King as well as his ministry untruly pretend him to be, time is necessary to give a confidence in his recovery, and to show that it is not merely a lucid interval. In the meanwhile, the glimmerings of accommodation between the Turks and two empires do not grow stronger. On the other hand, the war in the western parts of Europe will very possibly spread farther. The accident in England has benumbed her mediation between the

Swedes and Danes, so that their war will probably go on, and, with the disturbances in Poland, may draw in the King of Prussia. This will so embroil matters, that it is impossible they should clear up but by a general war, in which France, if not England, must sooner or later take a part. Your ambassador at the Hague is recalled, and certainly on account of the ill-humor between this Court and that. Some very dry and unfriendly memorials have passed between them on the subject of the money which was to have been paid by this country for the late peace with the Emperor. These things suffice to show that France nourishes a resentment still of the treatment she has received, and to keep alive well-grounded apprehensions at the Hague that all is not done yet. Should there be a possibility of detaching the Turks from the war, so as to leave the two empires free to turn this way, or should England remain inactive, the contest in which this country may be engaged will not be difficult; but if the Turks, English, Dutch, Prussians, Poles and Swedes are all in activity, they will give warm employment to the two empires, France, Spain and Denmark, in the event of the war becoming general.

All the world here is electioneering. Paris is a desert, at least as to that description of persons who think they may be chosen themselves, or aid the choice of their friends. I hope to see this great meeting before my departure. Several elections are already over, but I am not able to give you a list

of them. Mirabeau has been declared in his province not to be a noble, whereupon he offered himself for the people, and it is said he is elected. The Duke d'Orleans has lately rendered himself very popular by decided declarations in favor of the Tiers État in all their points. He has particularly declared he will pay taxes in proportion to his property, and he has relinquished all his Capitaineries. His daughter is to be married to the Duke d'Angouleme. The Dauphin is at the last extremity. He is lately removed from Versailles to Meudon. This is considered as preparatory to a removal to St. Dennis. We have had such a winter here as is not on record. The mercury was 18½° below freezing on Reaumur's scale, and I think it was nearly two months varying between that point and zero. It gave occasion for a display of the benevolent character of this nation, which, great as I had thought it, went beyond my expectations. There seems to be a very general apprehension of the want of bread this spring. Supplies are hoped from our country, and indeed they have already reduced the price of flour at Bordeaux from 36*l.* to 33*l.* the barrel. The funds, at a low ebb when Mr. Neckar came in, recovered their ground by degrees, and have ever since remained stationary. The Court has had thoughts of coming to St. Cloud during the session of the States, but it is not yet decided. As I shall write to Madame de Brehan, I shall tender my respects to her myself. The next details I give you will be in New York,

where I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you in the summer, and of taking your orders for France. In the meantime, I am, with very sincere esteem and respect, dear Sir, vour most obedient humble servant.

TO MADAME DE BREHAN.

PARIS, March 14, 1789.

DEAR MADAM,—I had the honor of writing to you on the 15th of February; soon after which, I had the honor of receiving your favor of December the 29th. I have a thousand questions to ask you about your journey to the Indian treaty, how you like their persons, their manners, their costumes, *cuisine*, etc. But this I must defer till I can do it personally in New York, where I hope to see you for a moment in the summer, and to take your commands for France. I have little to communicate to you from this place. It is deserted; everybody being gone into the country to choose or be chosen deputies to the States General. I hope to see that great meeting before my departure. It is to be on the 27th of next month. A great political revolution will take place in your country, and that without bloodshed. A King with two hundred thousand men at his orders, is disarmed by the force of the public opinion and the want of money. Among the economies becoming necessary, perhaps one may be the opera. They say it has cost the public treasury an hundred thousand crowns the last year. A new theatre is

established since your departure; that of the Opera Buffons, where Italian operas are given, and good music. It is in the Chateau des Tuilleries. Paris is every day enlarging and beautifying. I do not count among its beauties, however, the wall with which they have enclosed us. They have made some amends for this, by making fine boulevards within and without the walls. These are in considerable forwardness, and will afford beautiful rides round the city, of between fifteen and twenty miles in circuit. We have had such a winter, Madam, as makes me shiver yet, whenever I think of it. All communications, almost, were cut off. Dinners and suppers were suppressed, and the money laid out in feeding and warming the poor, whose labors were suspended by the rigor of the season. Loaded carriages passed the Seine on the ice, and it was covered with thousands of people from morning to night, skating and sliding. Such sights were never seen before, and they continued two months. We have nothing new and excellent in your charming art of painting. In fact, I do not feel an interest in any pencil but that of David. But I must not hazard details on a subject wherein I am so ignorant, and you such a connoisseur. Adieu, my dear Madam; permit me always the honor of esteeming and being esteemed by you, and of tendering you the homage of that respectful attachment with which I am, and shall ever be, dear Madam, your most obedient humble servant.

TO JAMES MADISON.

PARIS, March 15, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you last on the 12th of January; since which I have received yours of October the 17th, December the 8th and 12th. That of October the 17th, came to hand only February the 23d. How it happened to be four months on the way, I cannot tell, as I never knew by what hand it came. Looking over my letter of January the 12th, I remark an error of the word "probable" instead of "improbable," which doubtless, however, you had been able to correct.

Your thoughts on the subject of the declaration of rights, in the letter of October the 17th, I have weighed with great satisfaction. Some of them had not occurred to me before, but were acknowledged just in the moment they were presented to my mind. In the arguments in favor of a declaration of rights, you omit one which has great weight with me; the legal check which it puts into the hands of the judiciary. This is a body, which, if rendered independent and kept strictly to their own department, merits great confidence for their learning and integrity. In fact, what degree of confidence would be too much, for a body composed of such men as Wythe, Blair and Pendleton? On characters like these, the "*civium ardor prava jubentium*" would make no impression. I am happy to find that, on the whole, you are a friend to this amendment. The

declaration of rights is, like all other human blessings, alloyed with some inconveniences, and not accomplishing fully its object. But the good in this instance, vastly overweighs the evil. I cannot refrain from making short answers to the objections which your letter states to have been raised. 1. That the rights in question are reserved, by the manner in which the federal powers are granted. Answer. A constitutive act may, certainly, be so formed, as to need no declaration of rights. The act itself has the force of a declaration, as far as it goes; and if it goes to all material points, nothing more is wanting. In the draught of a constitution which I had once a thought of proposing in Virginia, and printed afterwards, I endeavored to reach all the great objects of public liberty, and did not mean to add a declaration of rights. Probably the object was imperfectly executed; but the deficiencies would have been supplied by others, in the course of discussion. But in a constitutive act which leaves some precious articles unnoticed, and raises implications against others, a declaration of rights becomes necessary, by way of supplement. This is the case of our new federal Constitution. This instrument forms us into one State, as to certain objects, and gives us a legislative and executive body for these objects. It should, therefore, guard us against their abuses of power, within the field submitted to them. 2. A positive declaration of some essential rights could not be obtained in

the requisite latitude. Answer. Half a loaf is better than no bread. If we cannot secure all our rights, let us secure what we can. 3. The limited powers of the federal government, and jealousy of the subordinate governments, afford a security which exists in no other instance. Answer. The first member of this seems resolvable into the first objection before stated. The jealousy of the subordinate governments is a precious reliance. But observe that those governments are only agents. They must have principles furnished them, whereon to found their opposition. The declaration of rights will be the text, whereby they will try all the acts of the federal government. In this view, it is necessary to the federal government also; as by the same text, they may try the opposition of the subordinate governments. 4. Experience proves the inefficacy of a bill of rights. True. But though it is not absolutely efficacious under all circumstances, it is of great potency always, and rarely inefficacious. A brace the more will often keep up the building which would have fallen, with that brace the less. There is a remarkable difference between the characters of the inconveniences which attend a declaration of rights, and those which attend the want of it. The inconveniences of the declaration are, that it may cramp government in its useful exertions. But the evil of this is short-lived, moderate and reparable. The inconveniences of the want of a declaration are permanent, afflicting and irreparable.

They are in constant progression from bad to worse. The executive, in our governments, is not the sole, it is scarcely the principal object of my jealousy. The tyranny of the legislatures is the most formidable dread at present, and will be for many years. That of the executive will come in its turn; but it will be at a remote period. I know there are some among us, who would now establish a monarchy. But they are inconsiderable in number and weight of character. The rising race are all republicans. We were educated in royalism; no wonder, if some of us retain that idolatry still. Our young people are educated in republicanism; an apostasy from that to royalism, is unprecedented and impossible. I am much pleased with the prospect that a declaration of rights will be added; and I hope it will be done in that way, which will not endanger the whole frame of government, or any essential part of it.

I have hitherto avoided public news in my letters to you, because your situation insured you a communication of my letters to Mr. Jay. This circumstance being changed, I shall, in future, indulge myself in these details to you. There had been some slight hopes, that an accommodation might be effected between the Turks and two empires; but these hopes do not strengthen, and the season is approaching which will put an end to them, for another campaign, at least. The accident to the King of England has had great influence on the affairs of Europe. His mediation, joined with that

of Prussia, would certainly have kept Denmark quiet, and so have left the two empires in the hands of the Turks and Swedes. But the inactivity to which England is reduced, leaves Denmark more free, and she will probably go on in opposition to Sweden. The King of Prussia, too, had advanced so far, that he can scarcely retire. This is rendered the more difficult, by the troubles he has excited in Poland. He cannot well abandon the party he had brought forward there; so that it is very possible he may be engaged in the ensuing campaign. France will be quiet this year, because this year, at least, is necessary for settling her future constitution. The States will meet the 27th of April; and the public mind will, I think, by that time, be ripe for a just decision of the question, whether they shall vote by orders or persons. I think there is a majority of the Nobles already for the latter. If so, their affairs cannot but go on well. Besides settling for themselves a tolerably free constitution, perhaps as free a one as the nation is as yet prepared to bear, they will fund their public debts. This will give them such a credit, as will enable them to borrow any money they may want, and of course, to take the field again, when they think proper. And I believe they mean to take the field, as soon as they can. The pride of every individual in the nation, suffers under the ignominies they have lately been exposed to, and I think the States General will give money for a war, to wipe off the reproach. There have arisen

new bickerings between this court and that of the Hague; and the papers which have passed, show the most bitter acrimony rankling at the heart of this ministry. They have recalled their ambassador from the Hague, without appointing a successor. They have given a note to the Diet of Poland which shows a disapprobation of their measures. The insanity of the King of England has been fortunate for them, as it gives them time to put their house in order. The English papers tell you the King is well; and even the English ministry say so. They will naturally set the best foot foremost; and they guard his person so well, that it is difficult for the public to contradict them. The King is probably better, but not well, by a great deal. 1. He has been bled, and judicious physicians say, that in his exhausted state, nothing could have induced a recurrence to bleeding, but symptoms of relapse. 2. The Prince of Wales tells the Irish deputation, he will give them a definitive answer in some days; but if the King had been well, he could have given it at once. 3. They talk of passing a standing law, for providing a regency in similar cases. They apprehend then, they are not yet clear of the danger of wanting a regency. 4. They have carried the King to church; but it was his private chapel. If he be well, why do not they show him publicly to the nation, and raise them from that consternation into which they have been thrown, by the prospect of being delivered over to the profligate hands of the

Prince of Wales. In short, judging from little facts, which are known in spite of their teeth, the King is better, but not well. Possibly he is getting well, but still, time will be wanting to satisfy even the ministry, that it is not merely a lucid interval. Consequently, they cannot interrupt France this year in the settlement of her affairs, and after this year it will be too late.

As you will be in a situation to know when the leave of absence will be granted me, which I have asked, will you be so good as to communicate it, by a line, to Mr. Lewis and Mr. Eppes? I hope to see you in the summer, and that if you are not otherwise engaged, you will encamp with me at Monticello for awhile.

I am, with great and sincere attachment, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and servant.

TO THOMAS PAINE.

PARIS, March 17, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—My last letter to you extended from December the 23d to January the 11th. A confidential opportunity now arising, I can acknowledge the receipt of yours of January the 15th, at the date of which you could not have received mine.

You knew, long ago, that the meeting of the States is to be at Versailles on the 27th of April. This country is entirely occupied in its elections, which go on quietly and well. The Duke d'Orleans is elected

for Villers Cotterels. The Prince of Condé has lost the election he aimed at; nor is it certain he can be elected anywhere. We have no news from Auvergne, whither the Marquis de La Fayette is gone. In general, all the men of influence in the country are gone into the several provinces to get their friends elected, or be elected themselves. Since my letter to you, a tumult arose in Bretagne, in which four or five lives were lost. They are now quieter, and this is the only instance of a life lost, as yet, in this revolution. The public mind is now so far ripened by time and discussion, that there seems to be but one opinion on the principal points. The question of voting by persons of orders is the most controverted; but even that seems to have gained already a majority among the Nobles. I fear more from the number of the Assembly, than from any other cause. Twelve hundred persons are difficult to keep to order, and will be so, especially, till they shall have had time to frame rules of order. Their funds continue stationary, and at the level they have stood at for some years past. We hear so little of the parliaments for some time past, that one is hardly sensible of their existence. This unimportance is probably the forerunner of their total re-modification by the nation. The article of legislation, is the only interesting one on which the court has not explicitly declared itself to the nation. The Duke d'Orleans has given instructions to his proxies in the baillages, which would be deemed bold in England, and are reason-

able beyond the reach of an Englishman, who, slumbering under a kind of half reformation in politics and religion, is not excited by anything he sees or feels, to question the remains of prejudice. The writers of this country, now taking the field freely and unrestrained, or rather involved by prejudice, will rouse us all from the errors in which we have been hitherto rocked.

We had, at one time, some hope that an accommodation would have been effected between the Turks and two empires. Probably the taking Oczakow, while it has attached the Empress more to the Crimea, is not important enough to the Turks, to make them consent to peace. These hopes are vanishing. Nor does there seem any prospect of peace between Russia and Sweden. The palsied condition of England leaves it probable that Denmark will pursue its hostilities against Sweden. It does not seem certain whether the King of Prussia has advanced so far in that mediation, and in the troubles he has excited in Poland, as to be obliged to become a party. Nor will his becoming a party draw in this country, the present year, if England remains quiet. Papers which lately passed between this court and the government of Holland, prove that this nourishes its discontent and only waits to put its house in order, before it interposes. They have recalled their ambassador from the Hague, without naming a successor. The King of Sweden, not thinking that Russia and Denmark are enough for him, has arrested

a number of his Nobles, of principal rank and influence. It is a bold measure, at least, and he is too boyish a character to authorize us to presume it a wise one, merely because he has adopted it. His army was before disgusted. He now puts the Nobles and all their dependents on the same side, and they are sure of armed support, by Russia on the north, and Denmark on the south. He can have no salvation but in the King of Prussia.

I have received two letters from Ledyard, the one dated Alexandria, August the 15th, the other Grand Cairo, September the 10th; and one lately from Admiral Paul Jones, dated St. Petersburg, January the 31st. He was just arrived there, on the call of the Empress, and was uncertain where he should be employed the next campaign. Mr. Littlepage has returned from the Black Sea to Warsaw, where he has been perfectly received by the King. I saw this from under the King's own hand, and was pleased with the parental expressions towards him.

We have no news from America later than the middle of January. My letters inform me that even the friends of the new Constitution have come over to the expediency of adding a declaration of rights. There is reason to hope that this will be proposed by Congress to the several legislatures, and that the plan of New York for calling a new convention, will be rejected. Hitherto no State had acceded to it but Virginia, in which Henry and anti-federalism had got full possession of their legislature. But the people

are better disposed. My departure for America is likely to be retarded, by the want of a Congress to give me permission. I must obtain it from the new government. I am anxious to know how much we ought to believe of the recovery of the King of England. By putting little facts together, I see that he is not well. Mr. Rumsey (who came in while I was writing the preceding page) tells me you have a long letter ready for me. I shall be happy to receive it.

I am, with great and sincere attachment, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and servant.

TO COLONEL HUMPHREYS.

PARIS, March 18, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of November the 29th, 1788, came to hand the last month. How it happened that mine of August, 1787, was fourteen months on its way, is inconceivable. I do not recollect by what conveyance I sent it. I had concluded, however, either that it had miscarried, or that you had become indolent, as most of our countrymen are, in matters of correspondence.

The change in this country since you left it, is such as you can form no idea of. The frivolities of conversation have given way entirely to politics. Men, women and children talk nothing else; and all, you know, talk a great deal. The press groans with daily productions, which, in point of boldness, makes an Englishman stare, who hitherto has thought himself

the boldest of men. A complete revolution in this government has, within the space of two years, (for it began with the Notables of 1787,) been effected merely by the force of public opinion, aided, indeed, by the want of money, which the dissipations of the court had brought on. And this revolution has not cost a single life, unless we charge to it a little riot lately in Bretagne, which began about the price of bread, became afterwards political, and ended in the loss of four or five lives. The assembly of the States General begins the 27th of April. The representation of the people will be perfect. But they will be alloyed by an equal number of nobility and clergy. The first great question they will have to decide will be, whether they shall vote by orders or persons. And I have hopes that the majority of the Nobles are already disposed to join the Tiers État, in deciding that the vote shall be by persons. This is the opinion *a la mode* at present, and mode has acted a wonderful part in the present instance. All the handsome young women, for example, are for the Tiers État, and this is an army more powerful in France, than the two hundred thousand men of the King. Add to this, that the court itself is for the Tiers État, as the only agent which can relieve their wants; not by giving money themselves, (they are squeezed to the last drop,) but by pressing it from the non-contributing orders. The King stands engaged to pretend no more to the power of laying, continuing or appropriating taxes; to call the States General peri-

odically; to submit *lettres de cachet* to legal restrictions; to consent to freedom of the press; and that all this shall be fixed by a fundamental constitution, which shall bind his successors. He has not offered a participation in the legislature, but it will surely be insisted on. The public mind is so ripened on all these subjects, that there seems to be now but one opinion. The clergy, indeed, think separately, and the old men among the Nobles; but their voice is suppressed by the general one of the nation. The writings published on this occasion are, some of them, very valuable; because, unfettered by the prejudices under which the English labor, they give a full scope to reason, and strike out truths, as yet unperceived and unacknowledged on the other side the channel. An Englishman, dosing under a kind of half reformation, is not excited to think by such gross absurdities as stare a Frenchman in the face, wherever he looks, whether it be towards the throne or the altar. In fine, I believe this nation will, in the course of the present year, have as full a portion of liberty dealt out to them, as the nation can bear at present, considering how uninformed the mass of their people is. This circumstance will prevent the immediate establishment of the trial by jury. The palsied state of the executive in England is a fortunate circumstance for France, as it will give her time to arrange her affairs internally. The consolidation and funding their debts, will give government a credit which will enable them to do what they please. For the pres-

ent year, the war will be confined to the two empires and Denmark, against Turkey and Sweden. It is not yet evident whether Prussia will be engaged. If the disturbances of Poland break out into overt acts, it will be a power divided in itself, and so of no weight. Perhaps, by the next year, England and France may be ready to take the field. It will depend on the former principally; for the latter, though she may be then able, must wish a little time to see her new arrangements well under way. The English papers and English ministry say the King is well. He is better but not well; no malady requires a longer time to insure against its return, than insanity. Time alone can distinguish accidental insanity from habitual lunacy.

The operations which have taken place in America lately, fill me with pleasure. In the first place, they realize the confidence I had, that whenever our affairs go obviously wrong, the good sense of the people will interpose, and set them to rights. The example of changing a constitution, by assembling the wise men of the State, instead of assembling armies, will be worth as much to the world as the former examples we had given them. The Constitution, too, which was the result of our deliberations, is unquestionably the wisest ever yet presented to men, and some of the accommodations of interest which it has adopted, are greatly pleasing to me, who have before had occasions of seeing how difficult those interests were to accommodate. A general concurrence of opinion

seems to authorize us to say, it has some defects. I am one of those who think it a defect, that the important rights, not placed in security by the frame of the Constitution itself, were not explicitly secured by a supplementary declaration. There are rights which it is useless to surrender to the government, and which governments have yet always been found to invade. These are the rights of thinking, and publishing our thoughts by speaking or writing; the right of free commerce; the right of personal freedom. There are instruments for administering the government, so peculiarly trust-worthy, that we should never leave the legislature at liberty to change them. The new Constitution has secured these in the executive and legislative department; but not in the judiciary. It should have established trials by the people themselves, that is to say, by jury. There are instruments so dangerous to the rights of the nation, and which place them so totally at the mercy of their governors, that those governors, whether legislative or executive, should be restrained from keeping such instruments on foot, but in well-defined cases. Such an instrument is a standing army. We are now allowed to say, such a declaration of rights, as a supplement to the Constitution where that is silent, is wanting, to secure us in these points. The general voice has legitimated this objection. It has not, however, authorized me to consider as a real defect, what I thought and still think one, the perpetual re-eligibility of the Presi-

dent. But three States out of eleven, having declared against this, we must suppose we are wrong, according to the fundamental law of every society, the *lex majoris partis*, to which we are bound to submit. And should the majority change their opinion, and become sensible that this trait in their Constitution is wrong, I would wish it to remain uncorrected, as long as we can avail ourselves of the services of our great leader, whose talents and whose weight of character, I consider as peculiarly necessary to get the government so under way, as that it may afterwards be carried on by subordinate characters.

I must give you sincere thanks, for the details of small news contained in your letter. You know how precious that kind of information is to a person absent from his country, and how difficult it is to be procured. I hope to receive soon permission to visit America this summer, and to possess myself anew, by conversation with my countrymen, of their spirit and their ideas. I know only the Americans of the year 1784. They tell me this is to be much a stranger to those of 1789. This renewal of acquaintance is no indifferent matter to one, acting at such a distance, as that instructions cannot be received hot and hot. One of my pleasures, too, will be that of talking over the old and new with you. In the meantime, and at all times, I have the honor to be, with great and sincere esteem, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO DOCTOR WILLARD.

PARIS, March 24, 1789.

SIR,—I have been lately honored with your letter of September the 24th, 1788, accompanied by a diploma for a Doctorate of Laws, which the University of Harvard has been pleased to confer on me. Conscious how little I merit it, I am the more sensible of their goodness and indulgence to a stranger, who has had no means of serving or making himself known to them. I beg you to return them my grateful thanks, and to assure them that this notice from so eminent a seat of science, is very precious to me.

The most remarkable publications we have had in France, for a year or two past, are the following: "Les Voyages d'Anacharsis par l'Abbé Barthelemi," seven volumes, octavo. This is a very elegant digest of whatever is known of the Greeks; useless, indeed, to him who has read the original authors, but very proper for one who reads modern languages only. The works of the King of Prussia. The Berlin edition is in sixteen volumes, octavo. It is said to have been gutted at Berlin; and here it has been still more mangled. There are one or two other editions published abroad, which pretend to have rectified the maltreatment both of Berlin and Paris. Some time will be necessary to settle the public mind, as to the best edition.

Montignot has given us the original Greek, and a French translation of the seventh book of Ptolemy's

great work, under the title of "Etat des Etoiles fixes au second Siecle," in quarto. He has given the designation of the same stars by Flamstead and Beyer, and their position in the year 1786. A very remarkable work is the "Mechanique Analytique," of Le Grange, in quarto. He is allowed to be the greatest mathematician now living, and his personal worth is equal to his science. The object of his work is to reduce all the principles of mechanics to the single one of the equilibrium, and to give a simple formula applicable to them all. The subject is treated in the algebraic method, without diagrams to assist the conception. My present occupations not permitting me to read anything which requires a long and undisturbed attention, I am not able to give you the character of this work from my own examination. It has been received with great approbation in Europe. In Italy, the works of Spallanzani on Digestion and Generation, are valuable. Though, perhaps, too minute, and therefore tedious, he has developed some useful truths, and his book is well worth attention; it is in four volumes, octavo. Clavigaro, an Italian also, who has resided thirty-six years in Mexico, has given us a history of that country, which certainly merits more respect than any other work on the same subject. He corrects many errors of Dr. Robertson; and though sound philosophy will disapprove many of his ideas, we may still consider it as an useful work, and assuredly the best we possess on the same subject. It is in four thin

volumes, small quarto. De La Lande has not yet published a fifth volume.

The chemical dispute about the conversion and reconversion of air and water, continues still undecided. Arguments and authorities are so balanced, that we may still safely believe, as our fathers did before us, that these principles are distinct. A schism of another kind, has taken place among the chemists. A particular set of them here, have undertaken to remodel all the terms of the science, and to give to every substance a new name, the composition, and especially the termination of which, shall define the relation in which it stands to other substances of the same family. But the science seems too much in its infancy as yet, for this reformation; because, in fact, the reformation of this year must be reformed again the next year, and so on, changing the names of substances as often as new experiments develop properties in them undiscovered before. The new nomenclature has, accordingly, been already proved to need numerous and important reformations. Probably it will not prevail. It is espoused by the minority only here, and by very few, indeed, of the foreign chemists. It is particularly rejected in England.

In the arts, I think two of our countrymen have presented the most important inventions. Mr. Paine, the author of "Common Sense," has invented an iron bridge, which promises to be cheaper by a great deal than stone, and to admit of a much greater

arch. He supposes it may be ventured for an arch of five hundred feet. He has obtained a patent for it in England, and is now executing the first experiment with an arch of between ninety and one hundred feet. Mr. Rumsey has also obtained a patent for his navigation by the force of steam, in England, and is soliciting a similar one here. His principal merit is in the improvement of the boiler, and, instead of the complicated machinery of oars and paddles, proposed by others, the substitution of so simple a thing as the reaction of a stream of water on his vessel. He is building a sea vessel at this time in England, and she will be ready for an experiment in May. He has suggested a great number of mechanical improvements in a variety of branches; and upon the whole, is the most original and the greatest mechanical genius I have ever seen. The return of La Peyrouse (whenever that shall happen) will probably add to our knowledge in Geography, Botany, and Natural History. What a field have we at our doors to signalize ourselves in! The Botany of America is far from being exhausted, its Mineralogy is untouched, and its Natural History or Zoology, totally mistaken and misrepresented. As far as I have seen, there is not one single species of terrestrial birds common to Europe and America, and I question if there be a single species of quadrupeds. (Domestic animals are to be excepted.) It is for such institutions as that over which you preside so worthily, Sir, to do justice to our country, its

productions and its genius. It is the work to which the young men, whom you are forming, should lay their hands. We have spent the prime of our lives in procuring them the precious blessing of liberty. Let them spend theirs in showing that it is the great parent of *science* and of virtue; and that a nation will be great in both, always in proportion as it is free. Nobody wishes more warmly for the success of your good exhortations on this subject, than he who has the honor to be, with sentiments of great esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO J. SARSFIELD.

PARIS, April 3, 1789.

SIR,—I could not name to you the day of my departure from Paris, because I do not know it. I have not yet received my congé, though I hope to receive it soon, and to leave this some time in May, so that I may be back before the winter.

Impost is a duty paid on any imported article, in the *moment of its importation*, and, of course, it is collected in the seaports only. *Excise* is a duty on any article, whether imported or raised at home, and paid in the *hands of the consumer or retailer;* consequently, it is collected through the whole country. These are the true definitions of these words as used in England, and in the greater part of the United States. But in Massachusetts, they have perverted the word

excise to mean a tax on all liquors, whether paid in the moment of importation or at a later moment, and on nothing else. So that in reading the debates of the Massachusetts convention, you must give this last meaning to the word excise.

Rotation is the change of officers required by the laws at certain epochs, and *in a certain order:* thus, in Virginia, our justices of the peace are made sheriffs one after the other, each remaining in office two years, and then yielding it to his next brother in order of seniority. This is the just and classical meaning of the word. But in America, we have extended it (for want of a proper word) to all cases of officers who must be necessarily changed at a fixed epoch, though the successor be not pointed out in any particular order, but comes in by free election. By the term *rotation in office*, then we mean *an obligation on the holder of that office to go out at a certain period.* In our first Confederation, the principle of rotation was established in the office of President of Congress, who could serve but one year in three, and in that of a member of Congress, who could serve but three years in six.

I believe all the countries in Europe determine their standard of money in gold as well as silver. Thus, the laws of England direct that a pound Troy of gold, of twenty-two carats fine, shall be cut into forty-four and a half guineas, each of which shall be worth twenty-one and a half shillings, that is, into 956¾ shillings. This establishes the shilling at

5.518 grains of *pure* gold. They direct that a pound of silver, consisting of $11\frac{1}{10}$ ounces of pure silver and $\frac{1}{10}$ of an ounce alloy, shall be cut into sixty-two shillings. This establishes the shilling at 85.93 grains of pure silver, and, consequently, the proportion of gold to silver as 85.93 to 5.518, or as 15.57 to 1. If this be the true proportion between the value of gold and silver at the general market of Europe, then the value of the shilling, depending on two standards, is the same, whether a payment be made in gold or in silver. But if the proportion of the general market at Europe be as fifteen to one, then the Englishman who owes a pound weight of gold at Amsterdam, if he sends the pound of gold to pay it, sends 1043.72 shillings; if he sends fifteen pounds of silver, he sends only 1030.5 shillings; if he pays half in gold and half in silver, he pays only 1037.11 shillings. And this medium between the two standards of gold and silver, we must consider as furnishing the true medium value of the shilling. If the parliament should now order the pound of gold (of one-twelfth alloy as before) to be put into a thousand shillings instead of nine hundred and fifty-six and three-fourths, leaving the silver as it is, the medium or true value of the shilling would suffer a change of half the difference; and in the case before stated, to pay a debt of a pound weight of gold, at Amsterdam, if he sent the pound weight of gold, he would send 1090.9 shillings; if he sent fifteen pounds of silver, he would send 1030.5 shillings; if half in gold and half

in silver, he would send 1060.7 shillings; which shows that this parliamentary operation would reduce the value of the shilling in the proportion of 1060.7 to 1037.11.

Now this is exactly the effect of the late change in the quantity of gold contained in your louis. Your *marc d'argent fin* is cut into 53.45 livres (fifty-three livres and nine sous), the *marc de l'or fin* was cut, heretofore, by law, into 784.6 livres (seven hundred and eighty-four livres and twelve sous); gold was to silver then as 14.63 to 1. And if this was different from the proportion at the markets of Europe, the true value of your livre stood half way between the two standards. By the ordinance of October the 30th, 1785, the *marc* of pure gold has been cut into 828.6 livres. If your standard had been in gold alone, this would have reduced the value of your livre in the proportion of 828.6 to 784.6. But as you had a standard of silver as well as gold, the true standard is the medium between the two; consequently the value of the livre is reduced only one-half the difference, that is, as 806.6 to 784.6, which is very nearly three per cent. Commerce, however, has made a difference of four per cent., the average value of the pound sterling, formerly twenty-four [illegible]s, being now twenty-five livres. Perhaps some other circumstance has occasioned an addition of one per cent. to the change of your standard.

I fear I have tired you by these details. I did not mean to be so lengthy when I began. I beg you to

consider them as an appeal to your judgment, which I value, and from which I will expect a correction, if they are wrong.

I have the honor to be, with very great esteem and attachment, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO THE MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE.

PARIS, May 6, 1789.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—As it becomes more and more possible that the Noblesse will go wrong, I become uneasy for you. Your principles are decidedly with the Tiers État, and your instructions against them. A complaisance to the latter on some occasions, and an adherence to the former on others, may give an appearance of trimming between the two parties, which may lose you both. You will, in the end, go over wholly to the Tiers État, because it will be impossible for you to live in a constant sacrifice of your own sentiments to the prejudices of the Noblesse. But you would be received by the Tiers État at any future day, coldly, and without confidence. This appears to me the moment to take at once that honest and manly stand with them which your own principles dictate. This will win their hearts forever, be approved by the world, which marks and honors you as the man of the people, and will be an eternal consolation to yourself. The Noblesse, and especially the Noblesse of Auvergne, will always pre-

fer men who will do their dirty work for them. You are not made for that. They will, therefore, soon drop you, and the people, in that case, will perhaps not take you up. Suppose a scission should take place. The Priests and Nobles will secede, the nation will remain in place, and, with the King, will do its own business. If violence should be attempted, where will you be? You cannot then take side with the people in opposition to your own vote, that very vote which will have helped to produce the scission. Still less can you array yourself against the people. That is impossible. Your instructions are, indeed, a difficulty. But to state this at its worst it is only a single difficulty, which a single effort surmounts. Your instructions can never embarrass you a second time, whereas an acquiescence under them will reproduce greater difficulties every day, and without end. Besides, a thousand circumstances offer as many justifications of your departure from your instructions. Will it be impossible to persuade all parties that (as for good legislation two Houses are necessary) the placing the privileged classes together in one House, and the unprivileged in another, would be better for both than a scission? I own, I think it would. People can never agree without some sacrifices; and it appears but a moderate sacrifice in each party, to meet on this middle ground. The attempt to bring this about might satisfy your instructions, and a failure in it would justify your siding with the people, even to those who think

instructions are laws of conduct. Forgive me, my dear friend, if my anxiety for you makes me talk of things I know nothing about. You must not consider this as advice. I know you and myself too well to presume to offer advice. Receive it merely as the expression of my uneasiness, and the effusion of that sincere friendship with which I am, my dear Sir, yours affectionately.

TO WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

PARIS, May 8, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of January the 26th, to March the 27th, is duly received, and I thank you for the interesting papers it contained. The answer of Don Ulloa, however, on the subject of the canal through the American isthmus, was not among them, though mentioned to be so. If you have omitted it through accident, I shall thank you for it at some future occasion, as I wish much to understand that subject thoroughly. Our American information comes down to the 16th of March. There had not yet been members enough assembled of the new Congress to open the tickets. They expected to do it in a day or two. In the meantime, it was said from all the States, that their vote had been unanimous for General Washington, and a good majority in favor of Mr. Adams, who is certainly, therefore, Vice-President. The new government would be supported by very cordial and very general dispositions in its

favor from the people. I have not yet seen a list of the new Congress. This delay in the meeting of the new government, has delayed the determination on my petition for leave of absence. However, I expect to receive it every day, and am in readiness to sail the instant I receive it, so that this is probably the last letter I shall write you hence till my return. While there, I shall avail Government of the useful information I have received from you, and shall not fail to profit of any good occasion which may occur, to show the difference between your real situation and what it ought to be. I consider Paris and Madrid as the only two points at which Europe and America should touch closely and that a connection at these points should be fostered.

We have had, in this city, a very considerable riot, in which about one hundred people have been probably killed. It was the most unprovoked, and is, therefore, justly, the most unpitied catastrophe of that kind I ever knew. Nor did the wretches know what they wanted, except to do mischief. It seems to have had no particular connection with the great national question now in agitation. The want of bread is very seriously dreaded through the whole kingdom. Between twenty and thirty ship loads of wheat and flour has already arrived from the United States, and there will be about the same quantity of rice sent from Charleston to this country directly, of which about half has arrived. I presume that between wheat and rice, one hundred ship loads may

be counted on in the whole from us. Paris consumes about a ship load a day (say two hundred and fifty tons). The total supply of the West Indies for this year, rests with us, and there is almost a famine in Canada and Nova Scotia. The States General were opened the day before yesterday. Viewing it as an opera, it was imposing; as a scene of business, the King's speech was exactly what it should have been, and very well delivered; not a word of the Chancellor's was heard by anybody, so that, as yet, I have never heard a single guess at what it was about. Mr. Neckar's was as good as such a number of details would permit it to be. The picture of their resources was consoling, and generally plausible. I could have wished him to have dwelt more on those great constitutional reformations, which his "Rapport au roy" had prepared us to expect. But they observe, that these points were proper for the speech of the Chancellor. We are in hopes, therefore, they were in that speech, which, like the Revelations of St. John, were no revelations at all. The Noblesse, on coming together, show that they are not as much reformed in their principles as we had hoped they would be. In fact, there is real danger of their totally refusing to vote by persons. Some found hopes on the lower clergy, which constitute four-fifths of the deputies of that order. If they do not turn the balance in favor of the Tiers État, there is real danger of a scission. But I shall not consider even that event as rendering things desperate. If the King will do business with

the Tiers Etat, which constitutes the nation, it may be well done without Priests or Nobles. From the best information I can obtain, the King of England's madness has terminated in an imbecility, which may very possibly be of long continuance. He is going with his Queen to Germany. England chained to rest, the other parts of Europe may recover or retain tranquillity.

I have the honor to be, with great and sincere esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO MR. LITTLEPAGE.

PARIS, May 8, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of February 12th has been duly received, and in exchange for its information, I shall give you that which you desire relative to American affairs. Those of Europe you can learn from other sources. All our States acceded unconditionally to the new Constitution, except North Carolina and Rhode Island. The latter rejects it in toto. North Carolina neither rejected nor received it, but asked certain amendments before it should receive it. Her amendments concur with those asked by Virginia, New York and Massachusetts, and consist chiefly in a declaration of rights. Even the warmest friends to the new form begin to be sensible it wants the security, and it is pretty generally agreed that a declaration of rights shall be added. New

York and Virginia, though they have acceded to this government, are less contented with it than the others. In New York, it is the effect of the intrigues and influence of Governor Clinton, who it is hoped will be exchanged for a Judge Yates. In Virginia, it is perhaps the apprehension that the new government will oblige them to pay their debts. Our letters are as late as the 16th of March. There were not yet members enough of the new Congress assembled to open the tickets. It was expected there would be in two or three days. Information, however, from all the States, gave reason to be satisfied that General Washington was elected unanimously, and Mr. John Adams by a sufficient plurality to ensure his being the Vice-President. The elections to Congress had been almost entirely in favor of persons well-disposed to the new government, which proves the mass of the people in its favor. In general, there are the most favorable dispositions to support it, and those heretofore disheartened, now write in great confidence of our affairs. That spirit of luxury which sprang up at the peace, has given place to a laudable economy. Home manufactures are encouraged, and the balance last year was greatly on the side of exportation. The settlement of the Western country has gone on with astonishing rapidity. A late unaccountable event may slacken by scattering it. Spain has granted the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi, with a large tract of country on the western side of the river, to Colonel Morgan of New Jersey, to whom great num-

bers of settlers are flocking over from Kentucky. While this measure weakens somewhat the United States for the present, it begins our possession of that country considerably sooner than I had expected, and without a struggle till no struggle can be made. Great crops of corn last year in the United States, and a great demand for it in British and French America, and in Europe. Remarkable deaths are, General Nelson, and John Bannisters, father and son. I expect every day to receive a leave of absence for six months, and shall sail within a week after receiving it. I hope to be back before winter sets in. I have the honor to be, with very great esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, May 9, 1789.

SIR,—Since my letter of March the 1st, by the way of Havre, and those of March the 12th and 15th, by the way of London, no opportunity of writing has occurred, till the present to London.

There are no symptoms of accommodation between the Turks and two empires, nor between Russia and Sweden. The Emperor was, on the 16th of the last month, expected to die, certainly; he was, however, a little better when the last news came away, so that hopes were entertained of him; but it is agreed that he cannot get the better of his complaints ultimately, so that his life is not at all counted on. The Danes

profess, as yet, to do no more against Sweden than furnish their stipulated aid. The agitation of Poland is still violent, though somewhat moderated by the late change in the demeanor of the King of Prussia. He is much less thrasonic than he was. This is imputed to the turn which the English politics may be rationally expected to take. It is very difficult to get at the true state of the British King; but from the best information we can get, his madness has gone off, but he is left in a state of imbecility and melancholy. They are going to carry him to Hanover, to see whether such a journey may relieve him. The Queen accompanies him. If England should, by this accident, be reduced to inactivity, the southern countries of Europe may escape the present war. Upon the whole, the prospect for the present year, if no unforeseen accident happens, is, certain peace for the powers not already engaged, a probability that Denmark will not become a principal, and a mere possibility that Sweden and Russia may be accommodated. The interior disputes of Sweden are so exactly detailed in the Leyden gazette, that I have nothing to add on that subject.

The revolution of this country has advanced thus far, without encountering anything which deserves to be called a difficulty. There have been riots in a few instances, in three or four different places, in which there may have been a dozen or twenty lives lost. The exact truth is not to be got at. A few days ago, a much more serious riot took place in this

city, in which it became necessary for the troops to engage in regular action with the mob, and probably about one hundred of the latter were killed. Accounts vary from twenty to two hundred. They were the most abandoned banditti of Paris, and never was a riot more unprovoked and unpitied. They began, under a pretence that a paper manufacturer had proposed in an assembly to reduce their wages to fifteen sous a day. They rifled his house, destroyed everything in his magazines and shops, and were only stopped in their career of mischief by the carnage above mentioned. Neither this nor any other of the riots, have had a professed connection with the great national reformation going on. They are such as have happened every year since I have been here, and as will continue to be produced by common incidents. The States General were opened on the 4th instant, by a speech from the throne, one by the Garde des Sceaux, and one from Mr. Neckar. I hope they will be printed in time to send you herewith: lest they should not, I will observe, that that of Mr. Neckar stated the real and ordinary deficit to be fifty-six millions, and that he showed that this could be made up without a new tax, by economies and bonifications which he specified. Several articles of the latter are liable to the objection, that they are proposed on branches of the revenue, of which the nation has demanded a suppression. He tripped too lightly over the great articles of constitutional reformation, these being not as clearly enounced in this discourse

as they were in his "Rapport au roy," which I sent you some time ago. On the whole, his discourse has not satisfied the patriotic party. It is now, for the first time, that their revolution is likely to receive a serious check, and begins to wear a fearful appearance. The progress of light and liberality in the order of the Noblesse, has equalled expectation in Paris only and its vicinities. The great mass of deputies of that order, which come from the country, show that the habits of tyranny over the people are deeply rooted in them. They will consent, indeed, to equal taxation; but five-sixths of that chamber are thought to be, decidedly, for voting by orders; so that, had this great preliminary question rested on this body, which formed heretofore the sole hope, that hope would have been completely disappointed. Some aid, however, comes in from a quarter whence none was expected. It was imagined the ecclesiastical elections would have been generally in favor of the higher clergy; on the contrary, the lower clergy have obtained five-sixths of these deputations. These are the sons of peasants, who have done all the drudgery of the service for ten, twenty and thirty guineas a year, and whose oppressions and penury, contrasted with the pride and luxury of the higher clergy, have rendered them perfectly disposed to humble the latter. They have done it, in many instances, with a boldness they were thought insusceptible of. Great hopes have been formed, that these would concur with the Tiers Êtat in voting by

persons. In fact, about half of them seem as yet so disposed; but the bishops are intriguing, and drawing them over with the address which has ever marked ecclesiastical intrigue. The deputies of the Tiers État seem, almost to a man, inflexibly determined against the vote by orders. This is the state of parties, as well as can be judged from conversation only, during the fortnight they have been now together. But as no business has been yet begun, no votes as yet taken, this calculation cannot be considered as sure. A middle proposition is talked of, to form the two privileged orders into one chamber. It is thought more possible to bring them into it than the Tiers État. Another proposition is, to distinguish questions, referring those of certain descriptions to a vote by persons, others to a vote by orders. This seems to admit of endless altercation, and the Tiers État manifest no respect for that, or any other modification whatever. Were this single question accommodated, I am of opinion, there would not occur the least difficulty in the great and essential points of constitutional reformation. But on this preliminary question the parties are so irreconcilable, that it is impossible to foresee what issue it will have. The Tiers État, as constituting the nation, may propose to do the business of the nation, either with or without the minorities in the Houses of Clergy and Nobles which side with them. In that case, if the King should agree to it, the majorities in those two Houses would secede, and might resist the

tax gatherers. This would bring on a civil war. On the other hand, the privileged orders, offering to submit to equal taxation, may propose to the King to continue the government in its former train, resuming to himself the power of taxation. Here, the tax gatherers might be resisted by the people. In fine, it is but too possible, that between parties so animated, the King may incline the balance as he pleases. Happy that he is an honest, unambitious man, who desires neither money nor power for himself; and that his most operative minister, though he has appeared to trim a little, is still, in the main, a friend to public liberty.

I mentioned to you in a former letter, the construction which our bankers at Amsterdam had put on the resolution of Congress, appropriating the last Dutch loan, by which the money for our captives would not be furnished till the end of the year 1790. Orders from the board of treasury have now settled this question. The interest of the next month is to be first paid, and after that, the money for the captives and foreign officers is to be furnished, before any other payment of interest. This insures it when the next February interest becomes payable. My representations to them, on account of the contracts I had entered into for making the medals, have produced from them the money of that object, which is lodged in the hands of Mr. Grand.

Mr. Neckar, in his discourse, proposes among his bonifications of revenue, the suppressions of our two

free ports of Bayonne and L'Orient, which, he says, occasion a loss of six hundred thousand livres annually, to the crown, by contraband. (The speech being not yet printed, I state this only as it struck my ear when he delivered it. If I have mistaken it, I beg you to receive this as my apology, and to consider what follows as written on that idea only.) I have never been able to see that these free ports were worth one copper to us. To Bayonne our trade never went, and it is leaving L'Orient. Besides, the right of entrepôt is a perfect substitute for the right of free port. The latter is a little less troublesome only, to the merchants and captains. I should think, therefore, that a thing so useless to us and prejudicial to them might be relinquished by us, on the common principles of friendship. I know the merchants of these ports will make a clamor, because the franchise covers their contraband with all the world. Has Monsieur de Moustier said anything to you on this subject? It has never been mentioned to me. If not mentioned in either way, it is rather an indecent proceeding, considering that this right of free port is founded in treaty. I shall ask of M. de Montmorin, on the first occasion, whether he has communicated this to you through his ministry; and if he has not, I will endeavor to notice the infraction to him in such a manner, as neither to reclaim nor abandon the right of free port, but leave our government free to do either.

The gazettes of France and Leyden, as usual, will

accompany this. I am in hourly expectation of receiving from you my leave of absence, and keep my affairs so arranged, that I can leave Paris within eight days after receiving the permission. I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

PARIS, May 10, 1789.

SIR,—I am now to acknowledge the honor of your two letters of Nov. the 27th and Feb. the 13th, both of which have come to hand since my last to you of Dec. the 4th and 5th. The details you are so good as to give me on the subject of the navigation of the waters of the Potomac and Ohio, are very pleasing to me, as I consider the union of these two rivers, as among the strongest links of connection between the eastern and western sides of our confederacy. It will, moreover, add to the commerce of Virginia, in particular, all the upper parts of the Ohio and its waters. Another vast object, and of much less difficulty, is to add, also, all the country on the lakes and their waters. This would enlarge our field immensely, and would certainly be effected by a union of the upper waters of the Ohio and Lake Erie. The Big Beaver and Cuyahoga offer the most direct line, and according to information I received from General Hand, and which I had the honor of writing

you in the year 1783, the streams in that neighborhood head in lagoons, and the country is flat. With respect to the doubts which you say are entertained by some, whether the upper waters of Potomac can be rendered capable of navigation on account of the falls and rugged banks, they are answered, by observing, that it is reduced to a maxim, that whenever there is water enough to float a batteau, there may be navigation for a batteau. Canals and locks may be necessary, and they are expensive; but I hardly know what expense would be too great, for the object in question. Probably, negotiations with the Indians, perhaps even settlement, must precede the execution of the Cuyahoga canal. The States of Maryland and Virginia should make a common object of it. The navigation, again, between Elizabeth River and the Sound, is of vast importance, and in my opinion, it is much better that these should be done at public than private expense.

Though we have not heard of the actual opening of the new Congress, and consequently, have not official information of your election as President of the United States, yet, as there never could be a doubt entertained of it, permit me to express here my felicitations, not to yourself, but to my country. Nobody who has tried both public and private life, can doubt but that you were much happier on the banks of the Potomac than you will be at New York. But there was nobody so well qualified as yourself, to put our new machine into a regular course of

action; nobody, the authority of whose name could have so effectually crushed opposition at home, and produced respect abroad. I am sensible of the immensity of the sacrifice on your part. Your measure of fame was full to the brim; and, therefore, you have nothing to gain. But there are cases wherein it is a duty to risk all against nothing, and I believe this was exactly the case. We may presume, too, according to every rule of probability, that after doing a great deal of good, you will be found to have lost nothing but private repose.

In a letter to Mr. Jay, of the 19th of Nov., I asked a leave of absence to carry my children back to their own country, and to settle various matters of a private nature, which were left unsettled, because I had no idea of being absent so long. I expected that letter would have been received in time to be decided on by the Government then existing. I know now that it would arrive when there was no Congress, and consequently, that it must have awaited your arrival at New York. I hope you found the request not an unreasonable one. I am excessively anxious to receive the permission without delay, that I may be able to get back before the winter sets in. Nothing can be so dreadful to me, as to be shivering at sea for two or three months in a winter passage. Besides, there has never been a moment at which the presence of a minister here could be so well dispensed with, from certainty of no war this summer, and that the government will be so totally absorbed in domestic

arrangements, as to attend to nothing exterior. Mr. Jay will, of course, communicate to you some ciphered letters lately written, and one of this date. My public letter to him contains all the interesting public details. I enclose with the present, some extracts of a letter from Mr. Paine, which he desired me to communicate; your knowledge of the writer will justify my giving you the trouble of these communications, which their interesting nature and his respectability, will jointly recommend to notice. I am in great pain for the Marquis de La Fayette. His principles, you know, are clearly with the people; but having been elected for the Noblesse of Auvergne, they have laid him under express instructions, to vote for the decision by orders and not persons. This would ruin him with the Tiers État, and it is not possible he could continue long to give satisfaction to the Noblesse. I have not hesitated to press on him to burn his instructions, and follow his conscience as the only sure clue, which will eternally guide a man clear of all doubts and inconsistencies. If he cannot effect a conciliatory plan, he will surely take his stand manfully at once, with the Tiers État. He will in that case be what he pleases with them, and I am in hopes that base is now too solid to render it dangerous to be mounted on it. In hopes of being able in the course of the summer, to pay my respects to you personally, in New York, I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect respect and attachment, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

[*Extract of the letter from Thomas Paine, referred to in the preceding, to General Washington.*]

"London, March the 12th, 1789. I do not think it is worth while for Congress to appoint any minister at this court. The greater distance Congress observes on this point, the better. It will be all money thrown away, to go to any expense about it, at least during the present reign. I know the nation well, and the line of acquaintance I am in, enables me to judge better on this matter than any other American can judge, especially at a distance. I believe I am not so much in the good graces of the Marquis of Lansdowne as I used to be. I do not answer his purpose. He was always talking of a sort of re-connection of England and America, and my coldness and reserve on this subject checked communication. I believe he would be a good minister for England, with respect to a better agreement with France."

(Same letter continued) "April 10. The acts for regulating the trade with America are to be continued as last year. A paper from the Privy Council respecting the American fly, is before parliament. I had some conversation with Sir Joseph Banks upon this subject, as he was the person whom the Privy Council referred to. I told him that the Hessian fly attacked only the green plant, and did not exist in the dry grain. He said, that with respect to the Hessian fly, they had no apprehension, but it was the weevil they alluded to. I told him the weevil had

always, more or less, been in the wheat countries of America, and that if the prohibition was on that account, it was as necessary fifty or sixty years as now; that I believed it was only a political maneuvre of the ministry to please the landed interest, as a balance for prohibiting the exportation of wool, to please the manufacturing interest. He did not reply, and as we are on very sociable terms, I went farther, by saying, the English ought not to complain of the non-payment of debts from America, while they prohibit the means of payment. I suggest to you a thought on this subject. The debts due before the war ought to be distinguished from the debts contracted since, and all and every mode of payment and remittance under which they might have been discharged at the time they were contracted, ought to accompany those debts so long as any of them shall continue unpaid, because the circumstances of payment became united with the debt, and cannot be separated by subsequent acts of one side only. If this was taken up in America, and insisted on as a right coeval with and inseparable from those debts, it would force some of the restrictions here to give way. While writing this, I am informed that the minister has had a conference with some of the American creditors, and proposed to them to assume the debts, and give them ten shillings in the pound. The conjecture is, that he means, when the new Congress is established, to demand the payment. If you are writing to General Washington, it may not be amiss

to mention this, and if I hear further on this matter, I will inform you. But as, being a money matter, it cannot come forward but through parliament, there will be notice given of the business. This would be a proper time to show, that the British acts since the peace militate against the payment, by narrowing the means by which those debts might have been paid when they were contracted, and which ought to be considered as constituent parts of the contract."

TO JAMES MADISON.

PARIS, May 11, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—My last to you was of the 15th of March. I am now in hourly expectation of receiving my leave of absence. The delay of it a little longer, will endanger the throwing my return into the winter, the very idea of which is horror itself to me. I am in hopes this is the last letter I shall have the pleasure of writing to you, before my departure.

The madness of the King of England has gone off, but left him in a state of imbecility and melancholy. They talk of carrying him to Hanover. If they do, it will be a proof he does not mend, and that they take that measure, to authorize them to establish a regency. But if he grows better, they will perhaps keep him at home, to avoid the question, who shall be regent? As that country cannot be relied on in the present state of its executive, the King of Prussia has become more moderate; he throws cold water

on the fermentation he had excited in Poland. The King of Sweden will act as nobody, not even himself, can foresee; because he acts from the caprice of the moment, and because the discontents of his army and nobles may throw him under internal difficulties, while struggling with external ones. Denmark will probably only furnish its stipulated aid to Russia. France is fully occupied with internal arrangement. So that, on the whole, the prospect of this summer is, that the war will continue between the powers actually engaged in the close of the last campaign, and extend to no others; certainly, it will not extend, this year, to the southern States of Europe. The revolution of France has gone on with the most unexampled success, hitherto. There have been some mobs, occasioned by the want of bread, in different parts of the kingdom, in which there may have been some lives lost; perhaps a dozen or twenty. These had no professed connection, *generally*, with the constitutional revolution. A more serious riot happened lately in Paris, in which about one hundred of the mob were killed. This execution has been universally approved, as they seemed to have no view but mischief and plunder. But the meeting of the States General presents serious difficulties, which it had been hoped the progress of reason would have enabled them to get over. The nobility of and about Paris, have come over, as was expected, to the side of the people, in the great question of voting by persons or orders. This had induced a presumption

that those of the country were making the same progress, and these form the great mass of the deputies of that order. But they are found to be where they were centuries ago, as to their disposition to keep distinct from the people, and even to tyrannize over them. They agree, indeed, to abandon their pecuniary privileges. The clergy seem, at present, much divided. Five-sixths of that representation consists of the lower clergy, who, being the sons of the peasantry, are very well with the Tiers État. But the Bishops are intriguing, and drawing them over daily. The Tiers État is so firm to vote by persons or to go home, that it is impossible to conjecture what will be the result. This is the state of parties, as well as we can conjecture from the conversation of the members; for, as yet, no vote has been given which will enable us to calculate, on certain ground.

Having formerly written to you on the subject of our finances, I enclose you now an abstract of a paper on that subject, which Gouverneur Morris communicated to me. You will be a better judge of its merit than I am. It seems to me worthy good attention.

I have a box of books packed for you, which I shall carry to Havre, and send by any ship bound to New York or Philadelphia. I have been so inexact as to take no list of them before nailing up the box. Be so good as to do this, and I will take with me my bookseller's account, which will enable us to make a statement of them. They are chiefly Encyclopedies,

from the twenty-third to the thirtieth livraison. Paul Jones has desired me to send to yourself and Colonel Carrington each, his bust. They are packed together in the same box. There are three other boxes, with two in each, for other gentlemen. I shall send them all together, and take the liberty of addressing them to you. I rejoice extremely to hear you are elected, in spite of all cabals. I fear your post will not permit me to see you but in New York, and consequently but a short time only. I shall much regret this.

I am, with sentiments of sincere attachment and respect, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO THE HONORABLE MR. JAY.

PARIS, May 12, 1789.

SIR,—I am this moment returned from Versailles, and it is the last moment allowed me to write by this occasion. The Tiers État remain unshaken in their resolution to do no business with the other orders, but voting by persons. The Nobles are equally determined, and by a majority of four-fifths or five-sixths to vote only by orders. Committees of accommodation, indeed, are appointed, but with little prospect of effect. Already the ministry of the Nobles began to talk of abandoning their body, and going to take their places among the Tiers. Perhaps they may be followed by the timid part of their orders, and it might be hoped, by a majority of the Clergy, which

still remain undebauched by the bishops. This would form a States General of the whole Tiers, a majority of the Clergy, and a fraction of the Nobles. This may be considered, then, as one of the possible issues this matter may take, should reconciliation be impracticable.

I am able to speak now more surely of the situation of the Emperor. His complaint is pulmonary. The spitting of blood is from the lungs. The hemorrhage which came on was critical, and relieved him for the moment; but the relief was momentary only. There is little expectation he can last long. The King of England's voyage to Hanover is spoken of more doubtfully. This would be an indication that his complaint is better, or, at least, not worse. I find, on receiving Mr. Neckar's discourse in print, that he has not proposed in direct terms to put down our free ports. The expression is, "on se borne en ce moment à vous faire observer," etc., etc. I spoke on the subject to M. de Montmorin to-day, and he says they meant and mean to confer with me on it before my departure. I spoke to him also to bring Schweighauser and De Bree's affair to a conclusion; and to Mr. Rayneval on the same subject. They told me they had just received a letter from the Count de la Luzerne, justifying the detention of our stores; that they were so much dissatisfied with the principles he advanced, that they should take upon themselves to combat and protest against them, and to insist on a clear establishment of the rule that the

property of one sovereign within the dominions of another, is not liable to the territorial jurisdiction. They have accordingly charged one of their ablest counsels with the preparation of a memoir to establish this point. I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO MONSIEUR DE PONTIERE.

PARIS, May 17, 1789.

SIR,—I am honored with your letter of the 6th instant, and am sincerely sorry that you should experience inconveniences for the want of arrearages due to you from the United States. I have never ceased to take every measure which could promise to procure to the foreign officers the payment of these arrears. At present, the matter stands thus: Congress have agreed to borrow a sum of money in Holland, to enable them to pay the individual demands in Europe. They have given orders that these arrearages shall be paid out of this money, when borrowed, and certain bankers in Amsterdam are charged to borrow the money. I am myself of opinion, they will certainly procure the money in the course of the present year; but it is not for me to affirm this, nor to make any engagement. The moment the money is ready, it shall be made known to Colonel Gourion, who, at the desire of many of the officers, has undertaken to communicate with me

on the subject, and to inform them, from time to time, of the progress of this business. He will readily answer your letters on this subject. I depart in a few days for America, but shall leave such instructions here, as that this matter will suffer no delay on that account.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO MR. VAUGHAN.

PARIS, May 17, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—I am to acknowledge, all together, the receipt of your favors of March the 17th, 26th, and May the 7th, and to return you abundant thanks for your attention to the article of dry rice, and the parcel of seeds you sent me. This is interesting, because, even should it not take place of the wet rice, in South Carolina, it will enable us to cultivate this grain in Virginia, where we have not lands disposed for the wet rice. The collection of the works of Monsieur de Poivre has not, as I believe, been ever published. It could hardly have escaped my knowledge if they had been ever announced. The French translation of the book on trade, has not yet come to my hands. Whenever I receive the copies they shall be distributed, and principally among the members of the *états généraux*. I doubt whether, at this session, they will take up the subject of commerce. Whenever they do, they will find better principles nowhere

than in that book. I spoke with Mr. Stewart yesterday on the subject of the distribution, and if I should be gone before the books come to hand, he will execute the commission. Your nation is very far from the liberality that treatise inculcates. The proposed regulation on the subject of our wheat, is one proof. The prohibition of it in England would, of itself, be of no great moment, because I do not know that it is much sent there. But it is the publishing a libel on our wheat, sanctioned with the name of parliament, and which can have no object but to do us injury, by spreading a groundless alarm in those countries of Europe where our wheat is constantly and kindly received. It is a mere assassination. If the insect they pretend to fear, be the Hessian fly, it never existed in the grain. If it be the weevil, our grain always had that; and the experience of a century has proved that either the climate of England is not warm enough to hatch the egg and continue the race, or that some other unknown cause prevents any evil from it. How different from this spirit, my dear Sir, has been your readiness to help us to the dry rice, to communicate to us the bread tree, etc. Will any of our climates admit the cultivation of the latter? I am too little acquainted with it, to judge. I learn that your newspapers speak of the death of Ledyard, at Grand Cairo. I am anxious to know whether there be foundation for this. I have not yet had time to try the execution of the wood hygrometer proposed by Dr. Franklin. Though I have most of the articles

ready made, I doubt now whether I shall be able to do it before my departure for America, the permission for which, I expect every hour; and I shall go off the instant I receive it. While there, I shall have the pleasure of seeing your father and friends. I expect to return in the fall. In the meantime I have the honor to be, with very great esteem and respect, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO THOMAS PAINE.

PARIS, May 19, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—Your favors of February the 16th to April the 13th, and of May the 3d and 10th, are received; and the two last are sent to Mr. Leroy, who will communicate them to the Academy.

You know that the States General have met, and probably have seen the speeches at the opening of them. The three orders sit in distinct chambers. The great question, whether they shall vote by orders or persons can never be surmounted amicably. It has not yet been proposed in form; but the votes which have been taken on the outworks of that question show that the Tiers État are unanimous, a good majority of the Clergy (consisting of the Curés) disposed to side with the Tiers État, and in the chamber of the Noblesse, there are only fifty-four in that sentiment, against one hundred and ninety, who are for voting by orders. Committees to find means of conciliation are appointed by each chamber; but con-

ciliation is impossible. Some think the Nobles could be induced to unite themselves with the *higher Clergy* into one House, the lower Clergy and Tiers État forming another. But the Tiers État are immovable. They are not only firm, but a little disdainful. The question is, what will ensue? One idea is to separate, in order to consult again their constituents, and to take new instructions. This would be doing nothing, for the same instructions would be repeated; and what, in the meantime, is to become of a government, absolutely without money, and which cannot be kept in motion with less than a million of livres a day? The more probable expectation is as follows. As soon as it shall become evident that no amicable determination of the manner of voting can take place, the Tiers État will send an invitation to the two other orders to come and take their places in the common chamber. A majority of the Clergy will go, and the minority of the Noblesse. The chamber thus composed will declare that the States General are constituted, will notify it to the King, and that they are ready to proceed to business. If the King refuses to do business with them, and adheres to the Nobles, the common chamber will declare all taxes at an end, will form a declaration of rights, and do such other acts as circumstances will permit, and go home. The tax-gatherers will then be resisted, and it may well be doubted whether the soldiery and their officers will not divide, as the Tiers État and Nobles. But it is more likely that the King will agree to do business

with the States General, so constituted, professing that the necessities of the moment force this, and that he means to negotiate (as they go along) a reconciliation between the seceding members and those which remain. If the matter takes this turn, there may be small troubles and ebullitions excited by the seceding Noblesse and higher Clergy; but no serious difficulty can arise. M. de Lamoignon, the Garde des Sceaux of the last year, has shot himself. The Emperor's complaint is pulmonary and incurable. The Grand Seignor is dead; his successor, young and warlike. I congratulate you sincerely on the success of your bridge. I was sure of it before from theory; yet one likes to be assured from practice also. I am anxious to see how Mr. Rumsey's experiment succeeds.

May the 21st. I have this moment received a letter from Ledyard, dated Cairo, November the 15th. He therein says, "I am doing up my baggage, and most curious baggage it is, and I leave Cairo in two or three days. I travel from hence southwest, about three hundred leagues, to a black King; there my present conductors leave me to my fate. Beyond, I suppose, I go alone. I expect to hit the continent across, between the parallels of twelve and twenty degrees north latitude. I shall, if possible, write you from the kingdom of this black gentleman." This seems to contradict the story of his having died at Cairo in January, as he was then, probably, in the interior parts of Africa. If Sir Joseph Banks

has no news from him later than the letter of September, it may do him pleasure, if you will communicate the above. If he or any other person knows whether there is any foundation for the story of his death, I will thank you to inform me of it. My letter being to go off to-morrow, I shall only add assurances of the esteem and respect with which I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO DOCTOR PRICE.

PARIS, May 19, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 4th instant is duly received. I am in hourly expectation of receiving letters permitting me to go to America for a few months, and shall leave Paris within a very few days after I shall have received them. As this is probably the last letter I can have the honor of writing you before my return, I will do myself the pleasure of putting you in possession of the state of things here at this moment, as it may enable you better to decide between truth and falsehood for some time to come. You already know that the States General are met, and have seen the speeches of the King, the Garde des Sceaux, and of Mr. Neckar. The three orders as yet, sit in different chambers. The great parliamentary question whether they shall vote by orders or persons is undecided. It has not yet been formally proposed, but the votes already given in the separate chambers on the outworks of that question, show

that the Tiers État are unanimous for voting by persons. A good majority of the Clergy of the same disposition, and only fifty-four of the Noblesse against one hundred and ninety of the same body, who are for voting by orders. The chambers have appointed committees to confer together on the means of conciliation, but this is mere form, conciliation being impracticable. The Noblesse, as some think, would be induced to unite themselves into one house, with the higher Clergy, the lower Clergy and Tiers forming another. But the Tiers are firm, and will agree to no modification. They are disposed to reduce the State to one order as much as possible. As we are always disposed to conjecture on the future, it is natural to form conjectures as to the issue from the present difficulty. One idea is, that they will separate to consult their constituents. I think they will not do this, because they know their constituents will repeat the same instructions. And what in the meantime is to become of a government which cannot keep in motion with less than a million of livres a day? A more probable conjecture is, that when it shall be manifest that conciliation is impracticable, the Tiers will invite the other orders to come and take their places in the common chamber. The majority of the Clergy, (to wit, the curés, and the minority of the Noblesse,) will accept the invitation. The chamber thus composed, will declare that the States General are now constituted, will notify it to the King, and prepare to proceed to business. If he

refuses to acknowledge them, and adheres to the principles of the Noblesse, they will suspend all taxes, form a declaration of rights, and do such other acts as circumstances will admit, and go home. The tax-gatherers will be resisted, and perhaps the soldiery take side with the Tiers, and their officers with the Noblesse. But I rather suppose the King will do business with the States so constituted, negotiating at the same time as they go along, a reconciliation with the seceding members. The latter may in that case excite small and partial troubles, but cannot make a serious resistance. It is very important that the lower Clergy side with the Tiers. They are the effective part of that order, while the bishops and archbishops are held in detestation. But you are to keep in mind that these are conjectures, and you know how small a circumstance may give a totally different turn from what has been plausibly conjectured. My hope is that the mass of the Bourgeoisie is too well in motion, and too well-informed to be resisted or misled, and ultimately that this great country will obtain a good constitution, and show the rest of Europe that reformation in government follows reformation in opinion. I am, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and attachment, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO MONSIEUR DE CREVE-COEUR.

PARIS, May 20, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—I am now to acknowledge the receipt of your several letters of October 20th, November 20th, and January 2d, and to thank you for the pamphlets you have been so kind as to send me. A conveyance by the way of London enables me to write the present, for I never think of writing *news* by the circumnavigation of the Bordeaux packet. You know that your States General are met, and you have seen the speeches of the King and his ministers at the opening of it, for I take for granted, M. de Montmorin has sent them to M. de Moustier, as I have done to Mr. Jay. I was present at that august ceremony. Had it been enlightened with lamps and chandeliers, it would have been almost as brilliant as the opera. Till now your affairs have gone on with a smoothness and rapidity which has been never before seen. At this moment, however, they are at a dead stand. The great preliminary question, whether they shall vote by orders or persons, seems to threaten a scission. They have not yet ventured to present the question in form, but the votes which have been given by the separate chambers on the outworks of that question, enables us to see pretty clearly the strength of the two parties. For voting by persons are 1, the Tiers État, unanimous; 2, a good majority of the Clergy, consisting of the curés; 3, fifty-four members of the Noblesse. For voting

by orders are 1, the residue of the Nobles being about 190; 2, a minority of the Clergy, consisting of the bishops and archbishops, etc. All the world is conjecturing how they are to get over the difficulty. Abundance are affrighted, and think all is lost, and the nation in despair at this unsuccessful effort, will consign itself to tenfold despotism. This is rank cowardice. Others propose that the members shall go back to ask new instructions from their constituents. This would be useless, because they know that the same instructions would be repeated, and who can say what new event, internal or external, might shuffle this glorious game out of their hands? Another hypothesis, which I shall develop, because I like it, and wish it, and hope it, is, that as soon as it shall be manifest that the committees of conciliation, now appointed by the three chambers, shall be able to agree in nothing, the Tiers will invite the other two orders to come and take their seats in the common chamber. A majority of the Clergy will come, and the minority of the Nobles. The chamber thus composed, will declare that the States General are now constituted, will notify it to the King, and propose to do business. It may be hoped he will accede to their proposition, justifying it by the necessity of the moment, and negotiating as they go along, the return of the other members of the Noblesse and Clergy. If he should, on the contrary, refuse to receive them as the States General, and adheres to the principles of the Noblesse, it may pos-

sibly happen that the Tiers will declare all taxes discontinued, form a declaration of rights, and do such other acts as circumstances will admit, and return every man to his tent. The tax-gatherers might be resisted, and the body of the army found to be disposed differently from their officers. All this will be avoided by admitting this composition of the chamber to be the States General, and pursuing modes of conciliation. These, indeed, will be difficult for the orders, as the Tiers seem determined to break down all the barriers of the separation of the several orders, and to have in future but one. I would have put off writing to you a few days longer, in hopes of informing you of the unravelling of this knot, but I am in hourly expectation of receiving my leave of absence, and am so prepared for my departure, that a very few days will enable me to set out for America, where I shall have the pleasure of relating to you more accurately the state of things here, of delivering you letters from your sons, and of assuring you in person of those sentiments of esteem and respect, with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

P. S. I have sent to M. le Comte de Moustier a list of the Deputies of the States.

TO MONSIEUR DE LA FAYETTE.

PARIS, June 3, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—Revolving further in my mind the idea started yesterday of the King's coming forward in a *séance royale*, and offering a charter containing all the good in which all the parties agree, I like it more and more. I have ventured to sketch such a charter merely to convey my idea, which I now enclose to you, as I do also to M. de St. Etienne. I write him a letter of apology for my meddling in a business where I know so little and you and he so much. I have thought it better to possess him immediately of the paper, because he may at the conference of to-day sound the minds of the conferees. Yours affectionately.

TO MONSIEUR DE ST. ETIENNE.

PARIS, June 3, 1789.

SIR,—After you quitted us yesterday evening, we continued our conversation (Monsieur de La Fayette, Mr. Short and myself) on the subject of the difficulties which environ you. The desirable object being, to secure the good which the King has offered, and to avoid the ill which seems to threaten, an idea was suggested, which appearing to make an impression on Monsieur de La Fayette, I was encouraged to pursue it on my return to Paris, to put it into form, and now to send it to you and him. It is this; that the

King, in a *séance royale* should come forward with a Charter of Rights in his hand, to be signed by himself and by every member of the three orders. This charter to contain the five great points which the Resultat of December offered, on the part of the King, the abolition of pecuniary privileges offered by the privileged orders, and the adoption of the national debt, and a grant of the sum of money asked from the nation. This last will be a cheap price for the preceding articles; and let the same act declare your immediate separation till the next anniversary meeting. You will carry back to your constituents more good than ever was effected before without violence, and you will stop exactly at the point where violence would otherwise begin. Time will be gained, the public mind will continue to ripen and to be informed, a basis of support may be prepared with the people themselves, and expedients occur for gaining still something further at your next meeting, and for stopping again at the point of force. I have ventured to send to yourself and Monsieur de La Fayette a sketch of my ideas of what this act might contain, without endangering any dispute. But it is offered merely as a canvas for you to work on, if it be fit to work on at all. I know too little of the subject, and you know too much of it, to justify me in offering anything but a hint. I have done it, too, in a hurry; insomuch, that since committing it to writing, it occurs to me that the fifth article may give alarm; that it is in a good degree included in the fourth, and

is, therefore, useless. But after all, what excuse can I make, Sir, for this presumption. I have none but an unmeasurable love for your nation, and a painful anxiety lest despotism, after an unaccepted offer to bind its own hands, should seize you again with tenfold fury. Permit me to add to these, very sincere assurances of the sentiments of esteem and respect, with which I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

[The annexed is the Charter accompanying the two preceding letters.]

A Charter of Rights, solemnly established by the King and Nation.

1. The States General shall assemble, uncalled, on the first day of November, annually, and shall remain together so long as they shall see cause. They shall regulate their own elections and proceedings, and until they shall ordain otherwise, their elections shall be in the forms observed in the present year, and shall be triennial.

2. The States General alone shall levy money on the nation, and shall appropriate it.

3. Laws shall be made by the States General only, with the consent of the King.

4. No person shall be restrained of his liberty, but by regular process from a court of justice, authorized by a general law. (Except that a Noble may be

imprisoned by order of a court of justice, on the prayer of twelve of his nearest relations.) On complaint of an unlawful imprisonment, to any judge whatever, he shall have the prisoner immediately brought before him, and shall discharge him, if his imprisonment be unlawful. The officer in whose custody the prisoner is, shall obey the orders of the judge; and both judge and officer shall be responsible, civilly and criminally, for a failure of duty herein.

5. The military shall be subordinate to the civil authority.

6. Printers shall be liable to legal prosecution for printing and publishing false facts, injurious to the party prosecuting; but they shall be under no other restraint.

7. All pecuniary privileges and exemptions, enjoyed by any description of persons, are abolished.

8. All debts already contracted by the King, are hereby made the debts of the nation; and the faith thereof is pledged for their payment in due time.

9. Eighty millions of livres are now granted to the King, to be raised by loan, and reimbursed by the nation; and the taxes heretofore paid, shall continue to be paid to the end of the present year, and no longer.

10. The States General shall now separate, and meet again on the 1st day of November next.

Done, on behalf of the whole nation, by the King

and their representatives in the States General, at Versailles, this —— day of June, 1789.

Signed by the King, and by every member individually, and in his presence.

TO THE MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE.

PARIS, June 12, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR,—As I may not be able to get at you, at Versailles, I write this to deliver it myself at your door. With respect to the utility, or inutility of your minority's joining the Commons, I am unable to form an opinion for myself. I know too little of the subject to see what may be its consequences.

I never knew an instance of the English parliament's undertaking to relieve the poor, by a distribution of bread in time of scarcity. In fact, the English commerce is so extensive and so active, that though bread may be a little more or less plenty, there can never be an absolute failure. This island is so narrow, that corn can be readily carried from the sea ports to its interior parts. But were an absolute want to happen, and were the parliament to undertake a distribution of corn, I think, that according to the principles of their government, they would only vote a sum of money, and address the King to employ it for the best. The business is, in its nature, executive, and would require too great a variety of detail to be managed by an act of parliament. However, I repeat it, that I never heard or read of an

instance of the parliament's interfering to give bread. If I see you at Versailles to-day, I can be more particular.

I am with great sincerity, my dear Sir, your affectionate friend and servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, June 17, 1789.

SIR,—I had the honor of addressing you on the 9th and 12th of May, by the way of London. This goes through the same channel to the care of Mr. Trumbull. Having received no letter from you of later date than the 25th of November, I am apprehensive that there may have been miscarriages, and the more so, as I learn, through another channel, that you have particularly answered mine of November the 19th.

The death of the Grand Seignior, which has happened, renders the continuance of the war more probable, as it has brought to the throne a successor of a more active and ardent temper, and who means to put himself at the head of his armies. He has declared the Captain Pacha his Generalissimo. The prospects for Russia, on the other hand, are less encouraging. Her principal ally, the Emperor, is at death's door, blazing up a little, indeed, from time to time, like an expiring taper, but certainly to extinguish soon. Denmark, too, is likely to be restrained by the threats of England and Prussia, from contributing even her stipulated naval succors. It is

some time since I have been able to obtain any account of the King of England, on which I can rely with confidence. His melancholy continues, and to such a degree, as to render him absolutely indifferent to everything that passes, so that he seems willing to let his ministers do everything they please, provided they will let him alone. When forced to speak, his comprehension seems better than it was in the first moments after his phrensy went off. His health is bad; he does not go into public at all, and very few are admitted to see him. This is his present state, according to the best accounts I have been able to get lately. His ministers dictate boldly in the north, because they know it is impossible they should be engaged in the war, while this country is so completely palsied.

You will have seen, by my former letters, that the question, whether the States General should vote by persons or by orders, had stopped their proceedings in the very first instances in which it could occur, that is, as to the verification of their powers, and that they had appointed committees to try if there were any means of accommodation. These could do nothing. The King then proposed that they should appoint others, to meet persons whom he should name, on the same subject. These conferences also proved ineffectual. He then proposed a specific mode of verifying. The Clergy accepted it unconditionally. The Noblesse, with such conditions and modifications, as did away their acceptance alto-

gether. The Commons, considering this as a refusal, came to the resolution of the 10th instant, (which I have the honor to send you,) inviting the two other orders to come and take their places in the common room, and notifying that they should proceed to the verification of powers, and to the affairs of the nation, either with or without them. The Clergy have, as yet, given no answer. A few of their members have accepted the invitation of the Commons, and have presented themselves in their room, to have their powers verified; but how many it will detach, in the whole, from that body, cannot be known till an answer be decided on. The Noblesse adhered to their former resolutions, and even the minority, well disposed to the Commons, thought they could do more good in their own chamber, by endeavoring to increase their numbers and fettering the measures of the majority, than by joining the Commons. An intrigue was set on foot between the leaders of the majority in that House, the Queen and Princes. They persuaded the King to go for some time to Marly; he went. On the same day, the leaders moved in the chamber of Nobles, that they should address the King, to declare his own sentiments on the great question between the orders. It was intended that this address should be delivered to him at Marly, where, separated from his ministers, and surrounded by the Queen and Princes, he might be surprised into a declaration for the Nobles. The motion was lost, however, by a very great majority,

that chamber being not yet quite ripe for throwing themselves into the arms of despotism. Neckar and Montmorin who had discovered this intrigue, had warned some of the minority to defeat it, or they could not answer for what would happen. These two and St. Priest, are the only members of the Council in favor of the Commons. Luzerne, Puy-Segur and the others, are high aristocrats. The Commons having verified their powers, a motion was made the day before yesterday, to declare themselves constituted, and to proceed to business. I left them at two o'clock yesterday; the debates not then finished. They differed only about forms of expression, but agreed in the substance, and probably decided yesterday, or will decide to-day. Their next move, I fancy, will be to suppress all taxes, and instantly re-establish them till the end of their session, in order to prevent a premature dissolution; and then, they will go to work on a declaration of rights and a constitution. The Noblesse, I suppose, will be employed altogether in counter operations; the Clergy, that is to say, the higher Clergy, and such of the Curés as they can bring over to their side, will be waiting and watching, merely to keep themselves in their saddles. Their deportment, hitherto, is that of meekness and cunning. The fate of the nation depends on the conduct of the King and his ministers. Were they to side openly with the Commons, the revolution would be completed without a convulsion, by the establishment of a constitution, tolerably free,

and in which the distinction of Noble and Commoner would be suppressed. But this is scarcely possible. The King is honest, and wishes the good of his people; but the expediency of an hereditary aristocracy is too difficult a question for him. On the contrary, his prejudices, his habits and his connections, decide him in his heart to support it. Should they decide openly for the Noblesse, the Commons, after suppressing taxes, and finishing their declaration of rights, would probably go home; a bankruptcy takes place in the instant, Mr. Neckar must go out, a resistance to the tax-gatherers follows, and probably a civil war. These consequences are too evident and violent, to render this issue likely. Though the Queen and Princes are infatuated enough to hazard it, the party in the ministry would not. Something, therefore, like what I hinted in my letter of May the 12th, is still the most likely to take place. While the Commons, either with or without their friends of the other two Houses, shall be employed in framing a constitution, perhaps the government may set the other two Houses to work on the same subject; and when the three schemes shall be ready, joint committees may be negotiated, to compare them together, to see in what parts they agree; and probably they will agree in all, except the organization of the future States General. As to this, it may be endeavored, by the aid of wheedling and intimidation, to induce the two privileged chambers to melt themselves into one, and the Commons, instead of one, to agree to

two Houses of legislation. I see no other middle ground to which they can be brought.

It is a tremendous cloud, indeed, which hovers over this nation, and he at the helm has neither the courage nor the skill necessary to weather it. Eloquence in a high degree, knowledge in matters of account and order, are distinguishing traits in his character. Ambition is his first passion, virtue his second. He has not discovered that sublime truth, that a bold, unequivocal virtue is the best handmaid even to ambition, and would carry him further, in the end, than the temporizing, wavering policy he pursues. His judgment is not of the first order, scarcely even of the second; his resolution frail; and, upon the whole, it is rare to meet an instance of a person so much below the reputation he has obtained. As this character, by the post and times in which providence has placed it, is important to be known, I send it to you as drawn by a person of my acquaintance, who knows him well. He is not, indeed, his friend, and allowance must, therefore, be made for the high coloring. But this being abated, the facts and groundwork of the drawing are just. If the Tiers separate, he goes at the same time; if they stay together, and succeed in establishing a constitution to their mind, as soon as that is placed in safety, they will abandon him to the mercy of the court, unless he can recover the confidence which he has lost at present, and which, indeed, seems to be irrecoverable.

The inhabitants of St. Domingo, without the per-

mission of the Government, have chosen and sent deputies to the States General. The question of their admission is to be discussed by the States. In the meantime, the Government had promised them an Assembly in their own island, in the course of the present year. The death of the Dauphin, so long expected, has at length happened. Montmorin told Ternant the other day, that de Moustier had now asked a *congé*, which would be sent him immediately. So that unless a change of ministry should happen, he will, probably, be otherwise disposed of. The gazettes of France and Leyden accompany this. I have the honor to be, with the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

P. S. June 18. The motion under debate with the Commons, for constituting their Assembly, passed yesterday by a majority of four hundred and odd, against eighty odd. The latter were for it in substance, but wished some particular amendment. They proceeded instantly to the subject of taxation. A member, who called on me this moment, gave me a state of the proceedings of yesterday, from memory, which I enclose you. He left the House a little before the question was put, because he saw there was no doubt of its passing, and his brother, who remained till the decision, informed him of it. So that we may expect, perhaps, in the course of to-morrow, to see whether the government will interpose with a bold hand, or will begin a negotia-

tion. But in the meantime, this letter must go off. I will find some other opportunity, however, of informing you of the issue.

[*Character of Mr. Neckar, accompanying the preceding letter.*]

Nature bestowed on Mr. Neckar an ardent passion for glory, without, at the same time, granting him those qualities required for its pursuit by direct means. The union of a fruitful imagination, with a limited talent, with which she has endowed him, is always incompatible with those faculties of the mind which qualify their possessor to penetrate, to combine, and to comprehend all the relations of objects.

He had probably learned in Geneva, his native country, the influence which riches exercise on the success of ambition, without having recourse to the school of Paris, where he arrived about the twenty-eighth year of his age. A personal affair with his brother, in which the chiefs of the republic conducted themselves unjustly towards him, the circumstances of which, moreover, exposed him to ridicule, determined him to forsake his country. On taking his leave, he assured his mother that he would make a great fortune at Paris. On his arrival, he engaged himself as clerk, at a salary of six hundred livres, with the banker Thelusson, a man of extreme harshness in his intercourse with his dependents. The same cause which obliged other clerks to abandon the ser-

vice of Thelusson, determined Neckar to continue in it. By submitting to the brutality of his master with a servile resignation, whilst, at the same time, he devoted the most unremitting attention to his business, he recommended himself to his confidence, and was taken into partnership. Ordinary abilities only were requisite to avail him of the multitude of favorable circumstances, which, before he entered into the administration, built up a fortune of six millions of livres. He owed much of his good fortune to his connections with the Abbé Terrai, of whose ignorance he did not scruple to profit. His riches, his profession, his table, and a virtuous, reasonable and well-informed wife, procured him the acquaintance of many persons of distinction, among whom were many men of letters, who celebrated his knowledge and wisdom.

The wise and just principles by which Turgot aimed to correct the abuses of the administration, not having been received with favor, he seized the occasion to flatter ignorance and malignity, by publishing his work against the freedom of the corn trade. He had published, two years before, an eulogy on Colbert. Both these productions exhibited the limited capacity of a banker, and, in no degree, the enlarged views of a statesman. Not at all delicate in the choice of his means, he succeeded to his wish in his object, which was the establishing himself in public opinion. Elevated by a secret cabal, to the direction of the finances, he began by refusing the

salaries of his office. He affected a spirit of economy and austerity, which imposed even on foreign nations, and showed the possibility of making war without laying new taxes. Such, at least, was his boast; but, in reality, they have been increased under his administration, about twenty millions, partly by a secret augmentation of the *bailles* and of the poll-tax, partly by some versifications of the *twentieths*, and partly by the natural progression, which is tested by the amount of taxes on consumption, the necessary result of the successive increase of population, of riches, and of expensive tastes.

All these circumstances reared for him an astonishing reputation, which his fall has consecrated. People will not reflect, that, in the short period of his ministry, he had more than doubled his fortune. Not that he had peculated on the public treasury; his good sense and pride forbade a resort to this manœuvre of weak minds; but by resorting to loans and the costly operations of the bank, to provide the funds of war, and being still connected with the house to which he addressed himself for much the greater part of his negotiations. They have not remarked that his great principles of economy have nothing more than a false show, and that the loans resorted to, in order to avoid the imposition of taxes, have been the source of the mischief which has reduced the finances to their present alarming condition.

As to his *compte rendu;* he has been forgiven the

nauseous panegyric which he has passed upon himself, and the affectation of introducing his wife into it, for the purpose of praising her; and we are spared the trouble of examining his false calculations. M. de Calonnes has undertaken this investigation. Without being able to vindicate himself, he has already begun to unmask his antagonist, and he promises to do it effectually.

Necessity has recalled this man to the ministry; and it must be confessed that he is beyond comparison a less mischievous minister than his predecessors. I would compare him to a steward, who, by his management, does not entirely ruin his master, but who enriches himself at his expense. The desire of glory should inspire him as much as possible with the energy requisite for the public business. There is every likelihood that his ministry will not endure long enough to cause it to feel the effects of his false principles of administration; and it is he alone who is able, if any one can, to preserve order in the finances, until the reform is effected which we hope from the assembling of the States General. In the meantime the public estimation of his talents and virtue is not so high as it has been. There are persons who pretend that he is more firmly established in public opinion than he ever was. They deceive themselves. The ambitious desire he has always manifested of getting again into the administration, his work on the importance of religious opinions, and the memoires of M. de Calonnes, have greatly impaired his reputation.

TO JAMES MADISON.

PARIS, June 18, 1789.

SIR,—My last to you was of May the 11th. Yours of March the 29th, came to hand ten days ago; and about two days ago I received a cover of your hand writing, under which were a New York paper of May the 4th, and a letter from Mr. Page to Mazzei. There being no letter from you, makes me hope there is one on the way, which will inform me of my *congé*. I have never received Mr. Jay's answer to my public letter, of November the 19th, which you mention him to have written, and which I fear has been intercepted. I know only from you, that my letter got safe to hand. My baggage has been made up more than a month, so that I shall leave Paris almost in the instant of receiving the permission.

The campaign begins under unfavorable auspices for Russia. The death of the Grand Seignior, who was personally disposed for peace, has brought a young and ardent successor to the throne, determined to push the war to extremity. Her only ally, the Emperor, is in *articulo mortis*, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, should he succeed, loves peace and money. Denmark is forbidden by England and Prussia to furnish even its stipulated maritime aid. There is no appearance of any other power's engaging in the war. As far as I can discover, the King of England is somewhat better in his head, but under such a complete depression of spirits, that he does

not care how the world goes, and leaves his ministers to do as they please. It is impossible for you to conceive how difficult it is to know the truth relative to him, he is environed in such an atmosphere of lies. Men who would not speak a falsehood on any other subject, lie on this, from a principle of duty; so that even eye witnesses cannot be believed without scanning their principles and connections; and few will stand this, of the very few permitted to see him.

Committees of conciliation having failed in their endeavors to bring together the three chambers of the States General, the King proposed a specific mode of verifying their powers; for that having been the first question which presented itself to them, was the one in which the question of voting by persons or orders was first brought on. The Clergy accepted unconditionally. The Noblesse accepted on conditions which reduced the acceptance to nothing at all. The Commons considered this as a refusal on the part of the Nobles, and thereupon took their definitive resolution, to invite the other two orders to come and verify their powers in common, and to notify them they should proceed with or without them to verify, and to do the business of the nation. This was on the 10th. On the 15th, they moved to declare themselves the National Assembly. The debates on this were finished yesterday, when the proposition was agreed to, by four hundred and odd, against eighty odd. The minority agreed in substance, but wished some particular amendment.

They then immediately made the proposition relative to taxes, which I enclose you, as this moment stated to me, by memory, by a member who left the Assembly a little before the question, because there was no opposition to the matter, but only to the form. He assures me, on the information of another member who was present, that Target's motion passed. We shall know, I think, within a day or two, whether the government will risk a bankruptcy and civil war, rather than see all distinction of orders done away, which is what the Commons will push for. If the fear of the former alternative prevails, they will spin the matter into negotiation. The Commons have in their chamber almost all the talents of the nation: they are firm and bold, yet moderate. There is, indeed, among them, a number of very hot-headed members; but those of most influence are cool, temperate and sagacious. Every step of this House has been marked with caution and wisdom. The Noblesse, on the contrary, are absolutely out of their senses. They are so furious, they can seldom debate at all. They have few men of moderate talents, and not one of great, in the majority. Their proceedings have been very injudicious. The Clergy are waiting to profit by every incident to secure themselves, and have no other object in view. Among the Commons there is an entire unanimity on the great question of voting by persons. Among the Noblesse there are about sixty for the Commons, and about three times that number against them. Among the Clergy, about

twenty have already come over and joined the Commons, and in the course of a few days they will be joined by many more, not, indeed, making the majority of that House, but very near it. The Bishops and Archbishops have been very successful by bribes and intrigues, in detaching the Curés from the Commons, to whom they were at first attached to a man. The Commons are about five hundred and fifty-four in number, of whom three hundred and forty-four are of the law. These do not possess an influence founded in property; but in their habits of business and acquaintance with the people, and in their means of exciting them as they please. The Curés throughout the kingdom, form the mass of the Clergy; they are the only part favorably known to the people, because solely charged with the duties of baptism, burial, confession, visitation of the sick, instruction of the children, and aiding the poor; they are themselves of the people, and united with them. The carriages and equipage only of the higher Clergy, not their persons, are known to the people, and are in detestation with them. The soldiers will follow their officers, that is to say, their captains, lieutenants and ensigns. These are of the lower nobility, and, therefore, much divided. The colonels and higher officers are of the higher nobility, are seldom with the soldiers, little known to them, not possessing their attachment. These circumstances give them little weight in the partition of the army.

I give you these miscellaneous observations, that

knowing somewhat the dispositions of the parties, you may be able to judge of the future for yourself, as I shall not be here to continue its communication to you.

In hopes to see you soon, I conclude with assurances of the perfect esteem and respect with which I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, June 24, 1789.

SIR,—My letter of the 17th and 18th instant, gave you the progress of the States General to the 17th, when the Tiers had declared the illegality of all the existing taxes, and their discontinuance from the end of their present session. The next day being a *jour de fete*, could furnish no indication of the impression that vote was likely to make on the government. On the 19th, a Council was held at Marly, in the afternoon. It was there proposed, that the King should interpose by a declaration of his sentiments in a *séance royale*. The declaration prepared by Mr. Neckar, while it censured in general the proceedings both of the Nobles and Commons, announced the King's views, such as substantially to coincide with the Commons. It was agreed to in Council, as also that the *séance royale* should be held on the 22d, and the meetings till then be suspended. While the Council was engaged in this deliberation at Marly, the Chamber of the Clergy was in debate, whether

they should accept the invitation of the Tiers to unite with them in the common chamber. On the first question, to unite simply and unconditionally, it was decided in the negative by a very small majority. As it was known, however, that some members who had voted in the negative, would be for the affirmative with some modifications, the question was put with these modifications, and it was determined by a majority of eleven members, that their body should join the Tiers. These proceedings of the Clergy were unknown to the Council at Marly, and those of the Council were kept secret from everybody. The next morning (the 20th), the members repaired to the House as usual, found the doors shut and guarded, and a proclamation posted up for holding a *séance royale* on the 22d, and a suspension of their meetings till then. They presumed, in the first moment, that their dissolution was decided, and repaired to another place, where they proceeded to business. They there bound themselves to each other by an oath, never to separate of their own accord, till they had settled a constitution for the nation on a solid basis, and if separated by force, that they would re-assemble in some other place. It was intimated to them, however, that day, privately, that the proceedings of the *séance royale* would be favorable to them. The next day they met in a church, and were joined by a majority of the Clergy. The heads of the aristocracy saw that all was lost without some violent exertion. The King was still

at Marly. Nobody was permitted to approach him but their friends. He was assailed by lies in all shapes. He was made to believe that the Commons were going to absolve the army from their oath of fidelity to him, and to raise their pay. * * * * They procured a committee to be held, consisting of the King and his ministers, to which Monsieur and the Count d'Artois should be admitted. At this committee, the latter attacked Mr. Neckar personally, arraigned his plans, and proposed one which some of his engines had put into his hands. Mr. Neckar, whose characteristic is the want of firmness, was browbeaten and intimidated, and the King shaken. He determined that the two plans should be deliberated on the next day, and the *séance royale* put off a day longer. This encouraged a fiercer attack on Mr. Neckar the next day; his plan was totally dislocated, and that of the Count d'Artois inserted into it. Himself and Monsieur de Montmorin offered their resignation, which was refused; the Count d'Artois saying to Mr. Neckar, "No, Sir, you must be kept as the hostage; we hold you responsible for all the ill which shall happen." This change of plan was immediately whispered without doors. The nobility were in triumph, the people in consternation. When the King passed the next day through the lane they formed from the Chateau to the Hotel des États (about half a mile), there was a dead silence. He was about an hour in the House, delivering his speech and declaration, copies of which

I enclose you. On his coming out, a feeble cry of "*vive le roy*" was raised by some children, but the people remained silent and sullen. When the Duke d'Orleans followed, however, their applauses were excessive. This must have been sensible to the King. He had ordered, in the close of his speech, that the members should follow him, and resume their deliberations the next day. The Noblesse followed him, and so did the Clergy, except about thirty, who, with the Tiers, remained in the room, and entered into deliberation. They protested against what the King had done, adhered to all their former proceedings, and resolved the inviolability of their own persons. An officer came twice to order them out of the room, in the King's name, but they refused to obey. In the afternoon, the people, uneasy, began to assemble in great numbers in the courts and vicinities of the palace. The Queen was alarmed, and sent for Mr. Neckar. He was conducted amidst the shouts and acclamations of the multitude, who filled all the apartments of the palace. He was a few minutes only with the Queen, and about three-quarters of an hour with the King. Not a word has transpired of what passed at these interviews. The King was just going to ride out. He passed through the crowd to his carriage, and into it, without being in the least noticed. As Mr. Neckar followed him, universal acclamations were raised of "Vive Monsieur Neckar, vive le sauveur de la France opprimée." He was conducted back to his house with the same demon-

strations of affection and anxiety. About two hundred deputies of the Tiers, catching the enthusiasm of the moment, went to his house, and extorted from him a promise that he would not resign. These circumstances must wound the heart of the King, desirous as he is, to possess the affections of his subjects. As soon as the proceedings at Versailles were known at Paris, a run began on the *caisse d'escompte*, which is the first symptom always of the public diffidence and alarm. It is the less in condition to meet the run, as Mr. Neckar has been forced to make free with its funds, for the daily support of the government. This is the state of things, as late as I am able to give them with certainty, at this moment. My letter not being to go off till to-morrow evening, I shall go to Versailles to-morrow, and be able to add the transactions of this day and to-morrow.

June 25. Just returned from Versailles, I am enabled to continue my narration. On the 24th, nothing remarkable passed, except an attack by the mob of Versailles on the Archbishop of Paris, who had been one of the instigators of the court, to the proceedings of the *séance royale*. They threw mud and stones at his carriage, broke the windows of it, and he in a fright promised to join the Tiers.

This day (the 25th) forty-eight of the Nobles have joined the Tiers. Among these, is the Duke d'Orleans. The Marquis de La Fayette could not be of the number, being restrained by his instructions. He is writing to his constituents, to change his in-

structions or to accept his resignation. There are with the Tiers now, one hundred and sixty-four members of the Clergy, so that the common chamber consists of upwards of eight hundred members. The minority of the Clergy, however, call themselves the chamber of the Clergy, and pretend to go on with business. I found the streets of Versailles much embarassed with soldiers. There was a body of about one hundred horse drawn up in front of the Hotel of the States, and all the avenues and doors guarded by soldiers. Nobody was permitted to enter but the members, and this was by order of the King; for till now, the doors of the common room have been open, and at least two thousand spectators attending their debates constantly. They have named a deputation to wait on the King, and desire a removal of the soldiery from their doors, and seem determined, if this is not complied with, to remove themselves elsewhere.

Instead of being dismayed with what has passed, they seem to rise in their demands, and some of them to consider the erasing every vestige of a difference of order as indispensable to the establishment and preservation of a good constitution. I apprehend there is more courage than calculation in this project. I did imagine, that seeing that Mr. Neckar and themselves were involved as common enemies in the hatred of the aristocrats, they would have been willing to make common cause with him, and to wish his continuance in office; and that Mr. Neckar, seeing that

all the trimming he has used towards the court and Nobles, has availed him nothing, would engage himself heartily and solely on the popular side, and view his own salvation in that alone. The confidence which the people place in him, seems to merit some attention. However, the mass of the common chamber are absolutely indifferent to his remaining in office. They consider his head as unequal to the planning a good constitution, and his fortitude to a co-operation in the effecting it. His dismission is more credited to-day than it was yesterday. If it takes place, he will retain his popularity with the nation, as the members of the States will not think it important to set themselves against it, but on the contrary, will be willing that he should continue on their side, on his retirement. The run on the *caisse d'escompte* continues. The members of the States admit, that Mr. Neckar's departure out of office will occasion a stoppage of public payments. But they expect to prevent any very ill effect, by assuring the public against any loss, and by taking immediate measures for continuing payment. They may, perhaps, connect these measures with their own existence, so as to interest the public in whatever catastrophe may be aimed at them. The gazettes of France and Leyden accompany this. During the continuance of this crisis and my own stay, I shall avail myself of every private conveyance to keep you informed of what passes. I have the honor to be, with the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, June 29, 1789.

SIR,—My letter of the 25th gave you the transactions of the States General to the afternoon of that day. On the next, the Archbishop of Paris joined the Tiers, as did some others of the Clergy and Noblesse. On the 27th, the question of the St. Domingo deputation came on, and it was decided that it should be received. I have before mentioned to you the ferment into which the proceedings at the *séance royale* of the 23d, had thrown the people. The soldiery also were affected by it. It began in the French guards, extended to those of every other denomination, (except the Swiss) and even to the body guards of the King. They began to quit their barracks, to assemble in squads, to declare they would defend the life of the King, but would not cut the throats of their fellow-citizens. They were treated and caressed by the people, carried in triumph through the streets, called themselves the soldiers of the nation, and left no doubt on which side they would be, in case of a rupture. Similar accounts came in from the troops in other parts of the kingdom, as well those which had not heard of the *séance royale*, as those which had, and gave good reason to apprehend that the soldiery, in general, would side with their fathers and brothers, rather than with their officers. The operation of this medicine, at Versailles, was as sudden as it was

powerful. The alarm there was so complete, that in the afternoon of the 27th, the King wrote a letter to the President of the Clergy, the Cardinal de La Rochefoucault, in these words:[1]

"My Cousin,—Wholly engaged in promoting the general good of my kingdom, and desirous, above all things, that the Assembly of the States General should apply themselves to objects of general interest, after the voluntary acceptance by your order of my declaration of the 23d of the present month; I pass my word that my faithful Clergy will, without delay, unite themselves with the other two orders, to hasten the accomplishment of my paternal views. Those, whose powers are too limited, may decline voting until new powers are procured. This will be a new mark of attachment which my Clergy will give me. I pray God, my Cousin, to have you in his holy keeping. Louis."

A like letter was written to the Duke de Luxemburgh, President of the Noblesse. The two chambers entered into debate on the question, whether they should obey the letter of the King. There was a considerable opposition; when notes written by the Count d'Artois to sundry members, and handed about among the rest, decided the matter, and they went in a body and took their seats with the Tiers, and thus rendered the union of the orders in one chamber complete. As soon as

[1 The following is a literal translation of the King's letter.]

this was known to the people of Versailles, they assembled about the palace, demanded the King and Queen, who came and showed themselves in a balcony. They rent the skies with cries of "*vive le roy*," "*vive la reine.*" They called for the Dauphin, who was also produced, and was the subject of new acclamations. After feasting themselves and the royal family with this tumultuary reconciliation, they went to the house of Mr. Neckar and M. de Montmorin, with shouts of thankfulness and affection. Similar emotions of joy took place in Paris, and at this moment, the triumph of the Tiers is considered as complete. To-morrow they will recommence business, voting by persons on all questions; and whatever difficulties may be opposed in debate by the malcontents of the Clergy and Nobility, everything must be finally settled at the will of the Tiers. It remains to see whether they will leave to the Nobility anything but their titulary appellations. I suppose they will not. Mr. Neckar will probably remain in office. It would seem natural that he should endeavor to have the hostile part of the Council removed, but I question if he finds himself firm enough for that. A perfect co-operation with the Tiers will be his wisest game. This great crisis being now over, I shall not have matter interesting enough to trouble you with, as often as I have done lately. There has nothing remarkable taken place in any other part of Europe. I have the honor to be, with the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO THE MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE.

PARIS, July 6, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—I never made an offer to anybody, to have corn or flour brought here, from America; no such idea ever entered my head. Mr. Neckar desired me to give information in America, that there would be a want of flour. I did so in a letter to Mr. Jay, which he published with my name to it, for the encouragement of the merchants. Those here, who have named me on this subject, must have mistaken me for Mr. Parker. I have heard him say, he offered Mr. Neckar to bring a large supply, yet I do not think I ever repeated this; or if I did, it must have been in a company I relied on. I will thank you to satisfy Mr. Neckar of the truth. It would be disagreeable, and perhaps mischievous, were he to have an idea that I encouraged censures on him. I will bring you the paper you desire to-morrow; and shall dine at the Duchess Danville's, where I shall be happy to meet you. Adieu. Yours affectionately.

TO THE MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE

PARIS, July 7, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—Your letter of yesterday gave me the first information that Monsieur de Mirabeau had suggested to the honorable the Assembly of the Nation, that I had made an offer to Mr. Neckar, to obtain from America a quantity of corn or flour,

which had been refused. I know not how Monsieur de Mirabeau has been led into this error. I never in my life made any proposition to Mr. Neckar on the subject; I never said I had made such a proposition. Some time last autumn, Mr. Neckar did me the honor to desire I would have notified in the United States, that corn and flour would meet with a good sale in France. I conveyed this notice, in a letter to Mr. Jay, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, as you will see by the extract of my letter published by him in an American gazette, which I have the honor to send you. I must beg leave to avail myself of your friendship and of your position, to have a communication of these facts made to the honorable Assembly of the Nation, of which you are a member, and to repeat to you those sentiments of respect and attachment, with which I have the honor to be, my dear Sir, your must obedient, and most humble servant.

TO MONSIEUR NECKER.

PARIS, July 8, 1789.

SIR,—I have the honor to enclose you a copy of my letter to Monsieur de La Fayette. When I called on him yesterday, he had already spoken to Monsieur de Mirabeau, who acknowledged he had been in an error in what he had advanced in the Assembly of the Nation, as to the proposition supposed to have been made by me to your Excellency,

and undertook to declare his error, when the subject should be resumed by the Assembly, to whom my letter to the Marquis de La Fayette will be also read.

I have thought it a duty, Sir, thus to correct in the first moment, an error, by which your name had been compromitted by an unfounded use of mine, and shall be happy in every occasion of proving to you those sentiments of profound respect and attachment with which I have the honor to be, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO THE COUNT DE MONTMORIN.

PARIS, July 8, 1789.

SIR,—My hotel having been lately robbed for the third time, I take the liberty of uniting my wish with that of the inhabitants of this quarter, that it might coincide with the arrangements of police, to extend to us the protection of a guard. While the Douane remained here, no accident of that kind happened, but since their removal, other houses in the neighborhood have been robbed, as well as mine. Perhaps it may lessen the difficulties of this request, that the house occupied by the people of the Douane, will lodge abundantly a *corps de garde*. On the one side of that house is Chaillot, on the other the Roule, on the third the Champs Elysées, where accidents are said to happen very frequently, all of which are very distant from any *corps de garde*.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the

most perfect respect and esteem, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO THE MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE.

PARIS, July 9, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—Having been curious to form some estimate of the quantity of corn and flour, which have been supplied to France this year, I applied to a person in the Farms, to know upon what quantities the premium had been paid. He could not give me information, but as to the *Atlantic* ports, into which there have been imported from the United States, from March to May inclusive, forty-four thousand one hundred and sixteen quintals of corn, twelve thousand two hundred and twenty-one quintals of flour, making fifty-six thousand three hundred and thirty-seven quintals, in the whole. Add to this, what has been imported since May, suppose nearly twenty thousand quintals a month, and what has been furnished to the French islands, which has prevented an equal quantity being exported from France, and you will have the proportion drawn from us. Observe, that we have regular and constant markets for corn and flour, in Spain, Portugal, and all the West India islands, except the French. These take nearly our whole quantity. This year, France, the French West Indies and Canada were added. But a regular course of trade is not quitted in an instant, nor constant customers de-

serted for accidental ones. This is the reason that so small a proportion has come here. I am, dear Sir, with great sincerity, your affectionate friend and servant.

TO THE MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE.

PARIS, July 10, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—The acknowledgment by Monsieur de Mirabeau to the National Assembly, that he had been in an error as to the offer he supposed me to have made, and the reading to them my letter, seem to be all that was requisite for any just purpose. As I was unwilling my name should be used to injure the minister, I am also unwilling it should be used to injure Monsieur de Mirabeau. I learn that his enemies in Paris are framing scandalous versions of my letter. I think, therefore, with you, it may be better to print it, and I send you a copy of it. I gave copies of it to Monsieur de Montmorin and Monsieur Neckar, as was my duty.

I am, with sincere affection, my dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO THOMAS PAINE.

PARIS, July 11, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—Since my last, which was of May the 19th, I have received yours of June the 17th and 18th. I am struck with the idea of the geometrical

wheelbarrow, and will beg of you a farther account, if it can be obtained. I have no news yet of my *congé*.

Though you have doubtless heard most of the proceedings of the States General since my last, I will take up the narration where that left it, that you may be able to separate the true from the false accounts you have heard. A good part of what was conjectured in that letter, is now become true history. * * * * * * * * * * * * The *National Assembly* then (for that is the name they take), having shown through every stage of these transactions a coolness, wisdom, and resolution to set fire to the four corners of the kingdom and to perish with it themselves, rather than to relinquish an iota from their plan of a total change of government, are now in complete and undisputed possession of the sovereignty. The executive and aristocracy are at their feet; the mass of the nation, the mass of the clergy, and the army are with them; they have prostrated the old government, and are now beginning to build one from the foundation. A committee, charged with the arrangement of their business, gave in, two days ago, the following order of proceedings.

"1. Every government should have for its only end, the preservation of the rights of man; whence it follows, that to recall constantly the government to the end proposed, the constitution should begin by a declaration of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man.

"2. Monarchical government being proper to maintain those rights, it has been chosen by the French nation. It suits especially a great society; it is necessary for the happiness of France. The declaration of the principles of this government, then, should follow immediately the declaration of the rights of man.

"3. It results from the principles of monarchy, that the nation, to assure its own rights, has yielded particular rights to the monarch; the constitution, then, should declare, in a precise manner, the rights of both. It should begin by declaring the rights of the French nation, and then it should declare the rights of the King.

"4. The rights of the King and nation not existing but for the happiness of the individuals who compose it, they lead to an examination of the rights of citizens.

"5. The French nation not being capable of assembling individually, to exercise all its rights, it ought to be represented. It is necessary, then, to declare the form of its representation and the rights of its representatives.

"6. From the union of the powers of the nation and King, should result the enacting and execution of the laws; thus, then, it should first be determined how the laws shall be established, afterwards should be considered, how they shall be executed.

"7. Laws have for their object the general administration of the kingdom, the property and the

actions of the citizens. The execution of the laws which concern the general administration, requires Provincial and Municipal Assemblies. It is necessary to examine, therefore, what should be the organization of the Provincial Assemblies, and what of the Municipal.

"8. The execution of the laws which concern the property and actions of the citizens, call for the judiciary power. It should be determined how that should be confided, and then its duties and limits.

"9. For the execution of the laws and the defence of the kingdom, there exists a public force. It is necessary, then, to determine the principles which should direct it, and how it should be employed.

"*Recapitulation.*

"Declaration of the rights of man. Principles of the monarchy. Rights of the nation. Rights of the King. Rights of the citizens.

"Organization and rights of the National Assembly. Forms necessary for the enaction of laws. Organization and functions of the Provincial and Municipal Assemblies. Duties and limits of the judiciary power. Functions and duties of the military power."

You see that these are the materials of a superb edifice, and the hands which have prepared them, are perfectly capable of putting them together, and of filling up the work of which these are only the outlines. While there are some men among them

of very superior abilities, the mass possess such a degree of good sense, as enables them to decide well. I have always been afraid their numbers might lead to confusion. Twelve hundred men in one room are too many. I have still that fear. Another apprehension is, that a majority cannot be induced to adopt the trial by jury; and I consider that as the only anchor ever yet imagined by man, by which a government can be held to the principles of its constitution. Mr. Paradise is the bearer of this letter. He can supply those details which it would be too tedious to write.

I am, with great esteem, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO MR. MASON.

PARIS, July 16, 1789.

SIR,—I am honored with your favor of the 11th, and sincerely thank you for the offer of your ship, which I would certainly have embraced, had I been at liberty to go. But I have not yet received permission, and must await that. I beg you to remember me in the most friendly terms to your father. I have put off answering his letter because I expected constantly to make my voyage to America and to see him at his own house.

Great events have taken place here within these few days. The change of the ministry and the tumult of Paris consequent on that, you will have

heard of. Yesterday the King went without any cortege but his two brothers to the States General, and spoke to them in very honest and conciliatory terms; such as in my opinion amounts to a surrender at discretion. The temper of the city is too much heated at present to view them in that light, and, therefore, they keep on the watch, and go on in organizing their armed Bourgeoise. But I have not a single doubt of the sincerity of the King, and there will not be another disagreeable act from him. He has promised to send away the troops.

I am with great esteem, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, July 19, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—I am become very uneasy, lest you should have adopted some channel for the conveyance of your letters to me, which is unfaithful. I have none from you of later date than November the 25th, 1788, and of consequence, no acknowledgment of the receipt of any of mine, since that of August the 11th, 1788. Since that period, I have written to you of the following dates. 1788. August the 20th, September the 3d, 5th, 24th, November the 14th, 19th, 29th. 1789. January the 11th, 14th, 21st, February the 4th, March the 1st, 12th, 14th, 15th, May the 9th, 11th, 12th, June the 17th, 24th, 29th. I know, through another person, that you

have received mine of November the 29th, and that you have written an answer; but I have never received the answer, and it is this which suggests to me the fear of some general source of miscarriage.

The capture of three French merchant ships by the Algerines, under different pretexts, has produced great sensation in the seaports of this country, and some in its government. They have ordered some frigates to be armed at Toulon to punish them. There is a possibility that this circumstance, if not too soon set to rights by the Algerines, may furnish occasion to the States General, when they shall have leisure to attend to matters of this kind, to disavow any future tributary treaty with them. These pirates respect still less their treaty with Spain, and treat the Spaniards with an insolence greater than was usual before the treaty.

The scarcity of bread begins to lessen in the southern parts of France, where the harvest has commenced. Here it is still threatening, because we have yet three weeks to the beginning of harvest, and I think there has not been three days' provision beforehand in Paris, for two or three weeks past. Monsieur de Mirabeau, who is very hostile to Mr. Neckar, wished to find a ground for censuring him, in a proposition to have a great quantity of flour furnished from the United States, which he supposed me to have made to Mr. Neckar, and to have been refused by him; and he asked time of the States General to furnish proofs. The Marquis de

La Fayette immediately gave me notice of this matter, and I wrote him a letter to disavow having ever made any such proposition to Mr. Neckar, which I desired him to communicate to the States. I waited immediately on Mr. Neckar and Monsieur de Montmorin, satisfied them that what had been suggested was absolutely without foundation from me; and, indeed, they had not needed this testimony. I gave them copies of my letter to the Marquis de La Fayette, which was afterwards printed. The Marquis, on the receipt of my letter, showed it to Mirabeau, who turned then to a paper from which he had drawn his information, and found he had totally mistaken it. He promised immediately that he would himself declare his error to the States General, and read to them my letter, which he did. I state this matter to you, though of little consequence in itself, because it might go to you misstated in the English papers.

Our supplies to the Atlantic ports of France, during the months of March, April and May, were only twelve thousand two hundred and twenty quintals, thirty-three pounds of flour, and forty-four thousand one hundred and fifteen quintals, forty pounds of wheat, in twenty-one vessels.

My letter of the 29th of June, brought down the proceedings of the States and government to the re-union of the orders, which took place on the 27th. Within the Assembly, matters went on well. But it was soon observed, that troops, and particularly the foreign troops, were on their march towards Paris

from various quarters, and that this was against the opinion of Mr. Neckar. The King was probably advised to this, under pretext of preserving peace in Paris and Versailles, and saw nothing else in the measure. That his advisers are supposed to have had in view, when he should be secured and inspirited by the presence of the troops, to take advantage of some favorable moment, and surprise him into an act of authority for establishing the declaration of the 23d of June, and perhaps dispersing the States General, is probable. The Marshal de Broglio was appointed to command all the troops within the isle of France, a high flying aristocrat, cool and capable of everything. Some of the French guards were soon arrested under other pretexts, but in reality, on account of their dispositions in favor of the national cause. The people of Paris forced the prison, released them, and sent a deputation to the States General, to solicit a pardon. The States, by a most moderate and prudent Arreté, recommended these prisoners to the King, and peace to the people of Paris. Addresses came in to them from several of the great cities, expressing sincere allegiance to the King, but a determined resolution to support the States General. On the 8th of July, they voted an address to the King to remove the troops. This[1] piece of masculine eloquence, written by Monsieur de Mirabeau, is worth attention on account of the bold matter it expresses and discovers through the

[1] See the paper called Point du Jour, No. 23.

whole. The King refused to remove the troops, and said they might remove themselves, if they pleased, to Noyons or Soissons. They proceeded to fix the order in which they will take up the several branches of their future constitution, from which it appears, they mean to build it from the bottom, confining themselves to nothing in their ancient form, but a King. A declaration of rights, which forms the first chapter of their work, was then proposed by the Marquis de La Fayette. This was on the 11th. In the meantime, troops, to the number of about twenty-five or thirty thousand, had arrived, and were posted in and between Paris and Versailles. The bridges and passes were guarded. At three o'clock in the afternoon, the Count de La Luzerne was sent to notify Mr. Neckar of his dismission, and to enjoin him to retire instantly, without saying a word of it to anybody. He went home, dined, proposed to his wife a visit to a friend, but went in fact to his country-house at St. Ouen, and at midnight, set out from thence, as is supposed, for Brussels. This was not known till the next day, when the whole ministry was changed, except Villedeuil, of the domestic department, and Barentin, Garde des Sceaux. These changes were as follows: the Baron de Breteuil, President of the Council of Finance; and de La Galaisiere, Comptroller General in the room of Mr. Neckar; the Marshal de Broglio, minister of war, and Foulon under him, in the room of Puy-Segur; Monsieur de La Vauguyon, minister of

foreign affairs, instead of Monsieur de Montmorin; de La Porte, minister of marine, in place of the Count de La Luzerne; St. Priest was also removed from the Council. It is to be observed, that Luzerne and Puy-Segur had been strongly of the aristocratical party in Council; but they were not considered as equal to bear their shares in the work now to be done. For this change, however sudden it may have been in the mind of the King, was, in that of his advisers, only one chapter of a great plan, of which the bringing together the foreign troops had been the first. He was now completely in the hands of men, the principal among whom, had been noted through their lives, for the Turkish despotism of their characters, and who were associated about the King, as proper instruments for what was to be executed. The news of this change began to be known in Paris about one or two o'clock. In the afternoon, a body of about one hundred German cavalry were advanced and drawn up in the Place Louis XV. and about two hundred Swiss posted at a little distance in their rear. This drew the people to that spot, who naturally formed themselves in front of the troops, at first merely to look at them. But as their numbers increased their indignation arose; they retired a few steps, posted themselves on and behind large piles of loose stone, collected in that place for a bridge adjacent to it, and attacked the horse with stones. The horse charged, but the advantageous position of the people, and the showers of stones,

obliged them to retire, and even to quit the field altogether, leaving one of their number on the ground. The Swiss in their rear were observed never to stir. This was the signal for universal insurrection, and this body of cavalry, to avoid being massacred, retired towards Versailles. The people now armed themselves with such weapons as they could find in armorers' shops and private houses, and with bludgeons, and were roaming all night through all parts of the city, without any decided practicable object. The next day, the States pressed on the King to send away the troops, to permit the Bourgeoise of Paris to arm for the preservation of order in the city, and offered to send a deputation from their body to tranquillize them. He refused all their propositions. A committee of magistrates and electors of the city were appointed by their bodies, to take upon them its government. The mob, now openly joined by the French guards, forced the prison of St. Lazare, released all the prisoners, and took a great store of corn, which they carried to the corn market. Here they got some arms, and the French guards began to form and train them. The committee determined to raise forty-eight thousand Bourgeoise, or rather to restrain their numbers to forty-eight thousand. On the 14th, they sent one of their members (Monsieur de Corny, whom we knew in America) to the Hotel des Invalides, to ask arms for their Garde Bourgeoise. He was followed by, or he found there, a great mob. The Governor of the Invalides came out, and repre-

sented the impossibility of his delivering arms, without the orders of those from whom he received them. De Corny advised the people then to retire, and retired himself; and the people took possession of the arms. It was remarkable, that not only the Invalides themselves made no opposition, but that a body of five thousand foreign troops, encamped within four hundred yards, never stirred. Monsieur de Corny and five others were then sent to ask arms of Monsieur de Launai, Governor of the Bastile. They found a great collection of people already before the place, and they immediately planted a flag of truce, which was answered by a like flag hoisted on the parapet. The deputation prevailed on the people to fall back a little, advanced themselves to make their demand of the Governor, and in that instant a discharge from the Bastile killed four people of those nearest to the deputies. The deputies retired; the people rushed against the place, and almost in an instant were in possession of a fortification, defended by one hundred men, of infinite strength, which in other times had stood several regular sieges, and had never been taken. How they got in, has, as yet, been impossible to discover. Those who pretend to have been of the party tell so many different stories, as to destroy the credit of them all. They took all the arms, discharged the prisoners, and such of the garrison as were not killed in the first moment of fury, carried the Governor and Lieutenant Governor to the Gréve, (the place of

public execution,) cut off their heads, and sent them through the city in triumph to the Palais Royal. About the same instant, a treacherous correspondence having been discovered in Monsieur de Flesselles, Prevost des Marchands, they seized him in the Hotel de Ville, where he was in the exercise of his office, and cut off his head. These events, carried imperfectly to Versailles, were the subject of two successive deputations from the States to the King, to both of which he gave dry and hard answers; for it has transpired, that it had been proposed and agitated in Council, to seize on the principal members of the States General, to march the whole army down upon Paris, and to suppress its tumults by the sword. But at night, the Duke de Liancourt forced his way into the King's bed chamber, and obliged him to hear a full and animated detail of the disasters of the day in Paris. He went to bed deeply impressed. The decapitation of de Launai worked powerfully through the night on the whole aristocratical party, insomuch, that in the morning, those of the greatest influence on the Count d'Artois, represented to him the absolute necessity that the King should give up everything to the States. This according well enough with the dispositions of the King, he went about eleven o'clock, accompanied only by his brothers, to the States General, and there read to them a speech, in which he asked their interposition to re-establish order. Though this be couched in terms of some caution, yet the manner in which it

was delivered, made it evident that it was meant as a surrender at discretion. He returned to the château a foot, accompanied by the States. They sent off a deputation, the Marquis de La Fayette at their head, to quiet Paris. He had, the same morning, been named Commandant-in-Chief of the Milice Bourgeoise, and Monsieur Bailly, former President of the States General, was called for as Prevost des Marchands. The demolition of the Bastile was now ordered, and begun. A body of the Swiss guards of the regiment of Ventimille, and the city horse guards, joined the people. The alarm at Versailles increased instead of abating. They believed that the aristocrats of Paris were under pillage and carnage, that one hundred and fifty thousand men were in arms, coming to Versailles to massacre the royal family, the court, the ministers, and all connected with them, their practices and principles. The aristocrats of the Nobles and Clergy in the States General, vied with each other in declaring how sincerely they were converted to the justice of voting by persons, and how determined to go with the nation all its lengths. The foreign troops were ordered off instantly. Every minister resigned. The King confirmed Bailly as Prevost des Marchands, wrote to Mr. Neckar to recall him, sent his letter open to the States General, to be forwarded by them, and invited them to go with him to Paris the next day, to satisfy the city of his dispositions; and that night and the next morning, the Count d'Artois and Mon-

sieur de Montisson (a deputy connected with him), Madame de Polignac, Madame de Guiche, and the Count de Vaudreuil, favorites of the Queen, the Abbé de Vermont, her confessor, the Prince of Condé and Duke de Bourbon, all fled; we know not whither. The King came to Paris, leaving the Queen in consternation for his return. Omitting the less important figures of the procession, I will only observe, that the King's carriage was in the centre, on each side of it the States General, in two ranks, a foot, and at their head the Marquis de La Fayette, as Commander-in-Chief, on horseback, and Bourgeoise guards before and behind. About sixty thousand citizens of all forms and colors, armed with the muskets of the Bastile and Invalides, as far as they would go, the rest with pistols, swords, pikes, pruning hooks, scythes, etc., lined all the streets through which the procession passed, and, with the crowds of people in the streets, doors and windows, saluted them everywhere with cries of "*vive la nation;*" but not a single "*vive le roy*" was heard. The King stopped at the Hotel de Ville. There Monsieur Bailly presented and put into his hat the popular cockade, and addressed him. The King being unprepared and unable to answer, Bailly went to him, gathered from him some scraps of sentences, and made out an answer, which he delivered to the andience as from the King. On their return, the popular cries were "*vive le roy et la nation.*" He was conducted by a Garde Bourgeoise to his palace at

Versailles, and thus concluded such an *amende honorable*, as no sovereign ever made, and no people ever received. Letters written with his own hand to the Marquis de La Fayette, remove the scruples of his position. Tranquillity is now restored to the capital: the shops are again opened; the people resuming their labors, and if the want of bread does not disturb our peace, we may hope a continuance of it. The demolition of the Bastile is going on, and the Milice Bourgeoise organizing and training. The ancient police of the city is abolished by the authority of the people, the introduction of the King's troops will probably be proscribed, and a watch or city guards substituted, which shall depend on the city alone. But we cannot suppose this paroxysm confined to Paris alone. The whole country must pass successively through it, and happy if they get through it as soon and as well as Paris has done.

I went yesterday to Versailles, to satisfy myself what had passed there; for nothing can be believed but what one sees, or has from an eye witness. They believe there still, that three thousand people have fallen victims to the tumults of Paris. Mr. Short and myself have been every day among them, in order to be sure what was passing. We cannot find, with certainty, that anybody has been killed but the three before mentioned, and those who fell in the assault or defence of the Bastile. How many of the garrison were killed, nobody pretends to have ever heard. Of the assailants, accounts vary from

six to six hundred. The most general belief is, that there fell about thirty. There have been many reports of instantaneous executions by the mob, on such of their body as they caught in acts of theft or robbery. Some of these may perhaps be true. There was a severity of honesty observed, of which no example has been known. Bags of money offered on various occasions through fear or guilt, have been uniformly refused by the mobs. The churches are now occupied in singing "*De profundis*" and "*Requiems*" "for the repose of the souls of the brave and valiant citizens who have sealed with their blood the liberty of the nation." Monsieur de Montmorin is this day replaced in the department of foreign affairs, and Monsieur de St. Priest is named to the home department. The gazettes of France and Leyden accompany this. I send, also, a paper (called the Point du Jour), which will give you some idea of the proceedings of the National Assembly. It is but an indifferent thing; however, it is the best.

I have the honor to be, with great esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

P. S. *July* 21. Mr. Neckar had left Brussels for Frankfort, before the courier got there. We expect, however, to hear of him in a day or two. Monsieur le Comte de La Luzerne has resumed the department of the marine this day. Either this is an office of

friendship effected by Monsieur de Montmorin, (for though they had taken different sides, their friendship continued,) or he comes in as a stop-gap, till somebody else can be found. Though very unequal to his office, all agree that he is an honest man. The Count d'Artois was at Valenciennes. The Prince of Condé and Duke de Bourbon had passed that place.

TO M. L'ABBÉ ARNOUD.

PARIS, July 19, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—The annexed is a catalogue of all the books I recollect on the subject of juries. With respect to the value of this institution, I must make a general observation. We think, in America, that it is necessary to introduce the people into every department of government, as far as they are capable of exercising it; and that this is the only way to insure a long-continued and honest administration of its powers.

1. They are not qualified to exercise themselves the executive department, but they are qualified to name the person who shall exercise it. With us, therefore, they choose this officer every four years. 2. They are not qualified to legislate. With us, therefore, they only choose the legislators. 3. They are not qualified to *judge* questions of *law*, but they are very capable of judging questions of *fact*. In the form of juries, therefore, they determine all

matters of fact, leaving to the permanent judges, to decide the law resulting from those facts. But we all know that permanent judges acquire an *Esprit de corps;* that being known, they are liable to be tempted by bribery; that they are misled by favor, by relationship, by a spirit of party, by a devotion to the executive or legislative power; that it is better to leave a cause to the decision of cross and pile, than to that of a judge biased to one side; and that the opinion of twelve honest jurymen gives still a better hope of right, than cross and pile does. It is in the power, therefore, of the juries, if they think permanent judges are under any bias whatever, in any cause, to take on themselves to judge the law as well as the fact. They never exercise this power but when they suspect partiality in the judges; and by the exercise of this power, they have been the firmest bulwarks of English liberty. Were I called upon to decide, whether the people had best be omitted in the legislative or judiciary department, I would say it is better to leave them out of the legislative. The execution of the laws is more important than the making them. However, it is best to have the people in all the three departments, where that is possible.

I write in great haste, my dear Sir, and have, therefore, only time to add wishes for the happiness of your country, to which a new order of things is opening; and assurances of the sincere esteem with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your most obedient and humble servant.

Books on the subject of Juries.

Complete Juryman, or a compendium of the laws relating to Jurors.
Guide to English Juries.
Hawles' Englishman's Right.
Juror's judges both of law and fact, by Jones.
Security of Englishmen's lives, or the duty of grand juries.
Walwin's Juries Justified.

TO MR. JAMES MADISON.

PARIS, July 22, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—My last to you was of the 18th of June. Within a day or two after, yours of May the 9th came to hand. In the rest of Europe nothing remarkable has happened; but in France such events as will be forever memorable in history. To begin where my last left them, the King took on himself to decide the great question of voting by persons or orders, by a declaration made at a *séance royale* on the 23d of June. In the same declaration he inserted many other things, some good, some bad. The Tiers, undismayed, resolved the whole was a mere nullity, and proceeded as if nothing had happened. The majority of the Clergy joined them, and a small part of the Nobles. The uneasiness produced by the King's declaration occasioned the people to collect about the palace in the evening of the same day.

The King and Queen were alarmed and sent for Mr. Neckar. He was conducted to and from the palace amidst the acclamations of the people. The French guards were observed to be mixed in great numbers with the people and to participate of their passions. This made so decisive an impression, that the King on the 27th wrote to the Clergy and Nobles, who had not yet joined the Tiers, recommending to them to go and join them. They did so, and it was imagined all was now settled. It was soon observed, however, that troops, and those the foreign troops, were marching towards Paris from different quarters. The States addressed the King to forbid their approach. He declared it was only to preserve the tranquillity of Paris and Versailles, and I believe he thought so. The command of those troops was given to the Marshal Broglio, and it was observed that the Baron de Breteuil was going daily to Versailles. On the 11th, there being now thirty thousand foreign troops in and between Paris and Versailles, Mr. Neckar was dismissed and ordered to retire privately. The next day the whole ministry was changed except Villedeuil and Barentin. Breteuil, Broglio and Vauguyon were the principal persons named in the new. A body of cavalry were advanced into Paris to awe them. The people attacked and routed them, killing one of the cavalry and losing a French guard. The corps of French guards gathered stronger, followed the cavalry, attacked them in the street, (*the rue basse des ram-*

parts,) and killed four. (I did not know this fact with certainty when I wrote to Mr. Jay, it is therefore not in my letter. I since have it from an eye-witness.) The insurrection became now universal. The next day (the 13th) the people forced a prison and took some arms. On the 14th a committee was framed by the city, with powers corresponding to our committees of safety. They resolve to raise a city militia of forty-eight thousand men. The people attack the invalids and get a great store of arms. They then attack and carry the Bastile, cut off the Governor's and Lieutenant-Governor's heads, and that also of the Prevost des Marchand's, discovered in a treacherous correspondence. While these things were doing here, the council is said to have been agitating at Versailles a proposition to arrest a number of the members of the States, to march all the foreign troops against Paris, and suppress the tumult by the sword. But the decapitations being once known there, and that there were fifty or sixty thousand men in arms, the King went to the States, referred everything to them, and ordered away the troops. The City Committee named the Marquis de La Fayette commander-in-chief. They went on organizing their militia, the tumult continued, and a noise spread about Versailles that they were coming to massacre the court, the ministry, etc. Every minister hereupon resigned and fled, the Count d'Artois, Prince of Condé, Duke de Bourbon, the family of Polignacs, the Count de

Vaudreuil, Abbé Vermont, confessor of the Queen, and key-stone of all the intrigues, all fled out of the kingdom. The King agreed to recall Mr. Neckar, reappointed Montmorin and St. Priest, friends of Neckar, and came with the States General to Paris to satisfy the city of his dispositions. All the streets through which he passed were lined with Bourgeoise, armed with guns, pistols, pikes, pruning-hooks, scythes, and whatever they could lay hold of, about sixty thousand. The States General on foot on each side of his coach, the Marquis de La Fayette at their head, on horseback. He returned to Versailles in the same order, to the great joy of the remaining courtiers, who feared he would have been detained in Paris. The tumults in the city had pretty well subsided, but to-day they have been revived by a new incident. Foulon, one of the fugitive ministers, was taken in the country, (it is said by his own tenants,) and brought to Paris. Every possible effort of persuasion was exerted in vain to save him. He was forced from the hands of the Gardes Bourgeoises by the mob, was hung, and after severing his head, the body was dragged by the enraged populace through the principal streets of Paris. The Intendant of Paris (de Chauvigny), accused of having been in the plots with the late ministry, and who had fled, was taken at Compiegne, and a party of two hundred militia horse are now gone for him. If they bring him to Paris it will be impossible to save him. Monsieur de La Luzerne was reappointed

minister of marine yesterday. Your last letter says nothing of my leave of absence. The season is so far advanced towards the Equinox, that if it comes to hand I shall not leave Europe till that be over. Indeed this scene is too interesting to be left at present. But if the permission does not come in time for my passage in the fall, the necessity of my going is so imperious, that I shall be in a most distressing dilemma.

I am, with sincere esteem and respect, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and servant.

P. S. *July 23.* I just learn that Bretier de Chauvigny was brought to town in the night and massacred immediately.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, July 23, 1789.

SIR,—The bearer of my letters (a servant of Mr. Morris) not going off till to-day, I am enabled to add to their contents. The spirit of tumult seemed to have subsided, when, yesterday, it was excited again, by a particular incident. Monsieur Foulon, one of the obnoxious ministry, who, as well as his brethren, had absconded, was taken in the country, and, as is said, by his own tenants, and brought to Paris. Great efforts were exerted by popular characters, to save him. He was at length forced out of the hands of the Garde Bourgeoise, hung imme-

diately, his head cut off, and his body drawn through the principal streets of the city. The Intendant of Paris, Monsieur de Chauvigny, accused of having entered into the designs of the said ministry, has been taken at Compiegne, and a body of two hundred men on horseback have gone for him. If he be brought here, it will be difficult to save him. Indeed, it is hard to say at what distance of time the presence of one of those ministers, or of any of the most obnoxious of the fugitive courtiers, will not rekindle the same blood-thirsty spirit. I hope it is extinguished as to everybody else, and yesterday's example will teach them to keep out of its way. I add two other sheets of the Point du Jour, and am, with the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

P. S. I just now learn that Bertier de Chauvigny was brought to town last night, and massacred immediately.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, July 29, 1789.

SIR,—I have written you lately, on the 24th of June, with a postscript of the 25th; on the 29th of the same month; the 19th of July, with a postscript of the 21st; and again on the 23d. Yesterday I received yours of the 9th of March, by the way of Holland.

Mr. Neckar has accepted his appointment, and will arrive to-day from Switzerland, where he had taken refuge. No other ministers have been named since my last. It is thought that Mr. Neckar will choose his own associates. The tranquillity of Paris has not been disturbed since the death of Foulon and Bertier, mentioned in my last. Their militia is in a course of organization. It is impossible to know the exact state of the supplies of bread. We suppose them low and precarious, because, some days, we are allowed to buy but half or three-fourths of the daily allowance of our families. Yet as the wheat harvest must begin within ten days or a fortnight, we are in hopes there will be subsistence found till that time. This is the only source from which I should fear a renewal of the late disorders; for I take for granted, the fugitives from the wrath of their country are all safe in foreign countries. Among these, are numbered seven Princes of the house of Bourbon, and six ministers; the seventh (the Marshal de Broglio), being shut up in the fortified town of Metz, strongly garrisoned with foreign soldiers. I observed to you, in a preceding letter, that the storm which had begun in Paris, on the change of the ministry, would have to pass over the whole country, and consequently would, for a short time, occasion us terrible details from the different parts of it. Among these, you will find a horrid one retailed from Vesoul, in French Compté. The atrociousness of the fact would dispose us rather to

doubt the truth of the evidence on which it rests, however regular that appears. There is no question, that a number of people were blown up; but there are reasons for suspecting that it was by accident and not design. It is said the owner of the château sold powder by the pound, which was kept in the cellar of the house blown up; and it is possible, some one of the guests may have taken this occasion to supply himself, and been too careless in approaching the mass. Many idle stories have also been propagated and believed here, against the English, as that they have instigated the late tumults with money, that they had taken or were preparing to take Cherbourg, Brest, etc.; and even reasonable men have believed, or pretended to believe, all these. The British Ambassador has thought it necessary to disavow them in a public letter, which you will find in one of the papers accompanying this.

I have lately had an opportunity of knowing with certainty, the present state of the King of England. His recovery was slow; he passed through a stage of profound melancholy; but this has at length dissipated, and he is at present perfectly re-established. He talks now as much as ever, on the same trifling subjects, and has recovered even his habitual inquisitiveness into the small news of the families about him. His health is also good, though he is not as fleshy as he used to be. I have multiplied my letters to you lately, because the scene has been

truly interesting; so much so, that had I received my permission to pay my projected visit to my own country, I should have thought, and should still think it my duty to defer it awhile. I presume it cannot now be long, before I receive your definitive answer to my request. I send herewith the public papers, as usual; and have the honor to be, with the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO MR. WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

PARIS, August 9, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—Since your last of March the 27th, I have only written that of May the 8th. The cause of this long silence, on both parts, has been the expectation I communicated to you of embarking for America. In fact, I have expected permission for this, every hour since the month of March, and, therefore, always thought that by putting off writing to you a few days, my letter, while it should communicate the occurrences of the day, might be a letter of adieu. Should my permission now arrive, I should put off my departure till after the equinox. They write me that my not receiving it, has proceeded from the ceasing of the old government in October last, and the organization of the higher departments in the new, which had not yet taken place when my last letters came away. Bills had been brought in for establishing departments of

Foreign Affairs, Finance, and War. The last would certainly be given to General Knox. Mr. Jay would probably have his choice of the first and second; and it is supposed Hamilton would have that which Mr. Jay declined. Some thought Mr. Jay would prefer and obtain the head of the law department, for which Wilson would be a competitor. In such a case, some have supposed C. Thompson would ask the Foreign Affairs. The Senate and Representatives differed about the title of the President. The former wanted to style him "His Highness, George Washington, President of the United States, and Protector of their liberties." The latter insisted and prevailed, to give no title but that of office, to wit, "George Washington, President of the United States." I hope the terms of Excellency, Honor, Worship, Esquire, forever disappear from among us, from that moment: I wish that of Mr. would follow them. In the impost bill, the Representatives had, by almost an unanimous concurrence, made a difference between nations in treaty with us, and those not in treaty. The Senate had struck out this difference and lowered all the duties. Quære, whether the Representatives would yield? Congress were to proceed about the 1st of June to propose amendments to the new Constitution. The principal would be, the annexing a declaration of rights to satisfy the mind of all, on the subject of their liberties. They waited the arrival of Brown, delegate from Kentucky, to take up the receiving that

district as a fourteenth State. The only objections apprehended, were from the partisans of Vermont, who might insist on both coming in together. This would produce a delay, though probably not a long one.

To detail to you the events of this country, would require a volume. It would be useless, too; because those given in the Leyden gazette, though not universally true, have so few and such unimportant errors mixed with them, that you may have a general faith in them. I will rather give you, therefore, what that paper cannot give, the views of the prevailing power, as far as they can be collected from conversation and writings. They will distribute the powers of government into three parts, legislative, judiciary, and executive. The legislative will certainly have no hereditary branch, and probably not even a select one (like our Senate). If they divide it into two chambers at all, it will be by breaking the representative body into two equal halves by lot. But very many are for a single House, and particularly the Turgotists. The imperfection of their legislative body, I think, will be, that not a member of it will be chosen by the people directly. Their representation will be an equal one, in which every man will elect and be elected as a citizen, not as of a distinct order. Quære, whether they will elect placemen and pensioners? Their legislature will meet periodically, and sit at their own will, with a power in the executive to call them extraordinarily,

in case of emergencies. There is a considerable division of sentiment whether the executive shall have a negative on the laws. I think they will determine to give such a negative, either absolute or qualified. In the judiciary, the parliaments will be suppressed, less numerous judiciary bodies instituted, and trial by jury established in criminal, if not in civil cases. The executive power will be left entire in the hands of the King. They will establish the responsibility of ministers, gifts and appropriations of money by the National Assembly alone; consequently, a civil list, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, freedom of commerce and industry, freedom of person against arbitrary arrests, and modifications, if not a total prohibition of military agency in civil cases. I do not see how they can prohibit altogether the aid of the military in cases of riot, and yet I doubt whether they can descend from the sublimity of ancient military pride, to let a Maréchal of France with his troops, be commanded by a Magistrate. They cannot conceive that General Washington, at the head of his army, during the late war, could have been commanded by a common Constable to go as his *posse comitatus*, to suppress a mob, and that Count Rochambeau, when he was arrested at the head of his army by a sheriff, must have gone to jail if he had not given bail to appear in court. Though they have gone astonishing lengths, they are not yet thus far. It is probable, therefore, that not knowing how to use the military

as a civil weapon, they will do too much or too little with it.

I have said that things will be so and so. Understand by this, that these are only my conjectures, the plan of the constitution not being proposed yet, much less agreed to. Tranquillity is pretty well established in the capital; though the appearance of any of the refugees here would endanger it. The Baron de Besenval is kept away; so is M. de la Vauguyon. The latter was so short a time a member of the obnoxious administration, that probably he might not be touched were he here. Seven Princes of the house of Bourbon, and seven ministers, fled into foreign countries, is a wonderful event, indeed.

I have the honor to be, with great respect and attachment, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, August 27, 1789.

SIR,—I am honored with your favor of June the 19th, informing me that permission is given me to make a short visit to my native country, for which indulgence I beg leave to return my thanks to the President, and to yourself, Sir, for the expedition with which you were so good as to forward it, after it was obtained. Being advised that October is the best month of the autumn for a passage to

America, I shall wish to sail about the first of that month; and as I have a family with me, and their baggage is considerable, I must endeavor to find a vessel bound directly for Virginia, if possible.

My last letters to you have been of the 5th and 12th instant. Since these, I received information from our bankers in Holland, that they had money in hand sufficient to answer the demands for the foreign officers, and for the captives; and that moreover, the residue of the bonds of the last loan were engaged. I hereupon wrote to Mr. Grand for an exact estimate of the sum necessary for the officers. He had stated it to me as being forty-five thousand six hundred and fifty-two livres eleven sous six deniers, a year, when I was going to Holland to propose the loan to Mr. Adams, and at that sum, you will see it was stated in the estimate we sent you from Amsterdam. He now informed me it was sixty thousand three hundred and ninety-three livres seventeen sous ten deniers, a year. I called on him for an explanation. He showed me that his first information agreed with the only list of the officers and sums then in his possession, and his last with a new list lately sent from the treasury board in which other officers were set down, who had been omitted in the first. I wrote to our bankers an account of this error, and desired to know whether, after reserving the money necessary for the captives, they were in condition to furnish two hundred and fifty-four thousand livres for the

officers. They answered me by sending the money, and the additional sum of twenty-six thousand livres, to complete the business of the medals. I delivered the bills to Messrs. Grand and Company, to negotiate and pay away; and the arrears to the officers to the first day of the present year, are now in a course of payment. While on this subject, I will ask that an order may be forwarded to the bankers in Holland to furnish, and to Mr. Grand to pay, the arrearages which may be due on the first of January next. The money being in hand, it would be a pity that we should fail in payment a single day, merely for want of an order. The bankers further give it as their opinion, that our credit is so much advanced on the exchange of Amsterdam, that we may probably execute any money arrangements we may have occasion for, on this side the water. I have the honor to send you a copy of their letter. They have communicated to me apprehensions, that another house was endeavoring to obtain the business of our government. Knowing of no such endeavors myself, I have assured them that I am a stranger to any applications on the subject. At the same time, I cannot but suspect that this jealousy has been one of the spurs, at least, to the prompt completion of our loan. The spirited proceedings of the new Congress in the business of revenue, has doubtless been the principal one.

An engagement has taken place between the Russian and Swedish fleets in the Baltic, which has been

not at all decisive, no ship having been lost on either side. The Swedes claim a victory, because they remained in the field till the Russians quitted it. The latter effected a junction soon after with another part of their fleet, and being now about ten ships strongest, the Swedes retired into port, and it is imagined they will not appear again under so great disparity; so that the campaign by sea is supposed to be finished. Their commerce will be at the mercy of their enemies; but they have put it out of the power of the Russians to send any fleet to the Mediterranean this year.

A revolution has been effected very suddenly in the bishopric of Liege. Their constitution had been changed by force, by the reigning sovereign, about one hundred years ago. This subject had been lately revived and discussed in print. The people were at length excited to assemble tumultuously. They sent for their Prince, who was at his country seat, and required him to come to the town house to hear their grievances. Though in the night, he came instantly, and was obliged to sign a restitution of their ancient constitution, which took place on the spot, and all became quiet without a drop of blood spilt. This fact is worthy notice, only as it shows the progress of the spirit of revolution.

No act of violence has taken place in Paris since my last, except on account of the difference between the French and Swiss guards, which gave rise to occasional single combats, in which five or six were killed,

The difference is made up. Some misunderstandings had arisen between the committees of the different districts of Paris, as to the form of the future municipal government. These gave uneasiness for awhile, but have been also reconciled. Still there is such a leaven of fermentation remaining in the body of the people, that acts of violence are always possible, and are quite unpunishable; there being, as yet, no judicature which can venture to act in any case, however small or great. The country is becoming more calm. The embarrassments of the government, for want of money, are extreme. The loan of thirty millions proposed by Mr. Neckar, has not succeeded at all. No taxes are paid. A total stoppage of all payment to the creditors of the State is possible every moment. These form a great mass in the city as well as country, and among the lower class of people, too, who have been used to carry their little savings of their service into the public funds upon life rents of five, ten, twenty guineas a year, and many of whom have no other dependence for daily subsistence. A prodigious number of servants are now also thrown out of employ by domestic reforms, rendered necessary by the late events. Add to this, the want of bread, which is extreme. For several days past, a considerable proportion of the people have been without bread altogether; for though the new harvest is begun, there is neither water nor wind to grind the grain. For some days past the people have besieged the doors of the

bakers, scrambled with one another for bread, collected in squads all over the city, and need only some slight incident to lead them to excesses which may end in, nobody can tell what. The danger from the want of bread, however, which is the most imminent, will certainly lessen in a few days. What turn that may take which arises from the want of money, is difficult to be foreseen. Mr. Neckar is totally without influence in the National Assembly, and is, I believe, not satisfied with this want of importance. That Assembly has just finished their bill of rights. The question will then be, whether to take up first the constitution or the business of finance.

No plan of a constitution has been yet given in. But I can state to you the outlines of what the leading members have in contemplation. The executive power in a hereditary King, with power of dissolving the legislature, and a negative on their laws; his authority in forming treaties to be greatly restrained. The legislative to be a single House of representatives, chosen for two or three years. They propose a body whom they call a Senate, to be chosen by the Provincial Assemblies, as our federal Senate is, but with no power of negativing or amending laws; they may only remonstrate on them to the representatives, who will decide by a simple majority the ultimate event of the law. This body will, therefore, be a mere council of revision. It is proposed that they shall be of a certain age and property, and be

for life. They may make them also their court of impeachment. They will suppress the parliaments, and establish a system of judicature somewhat like that of England, with trial by jury in criminal cases, perhaps also in civil. Each province will have a subordinate provincial government, and the great cities, a municipal one on a free basis. These are the ideas and views of the most distinguished members. But they may suffer great modifications from the Assembly, and the longer the delay, the greater will be the modifications. Considerable interval having taken place since any popular execution, the aristocratic party is raising its head. They are strengthened by a considerable defection from the patriots, in consequence of the general suppression of the abuses of the 4th of August, in which many were interested. Another faction, too, of the most desperate views, has acquired strength in the Assembly, as well as out of it. These wish to dethrone the reigning branch, and transfer the crown to the Duke d'Orleans. The members of this faction are mostly persons of wicked and desperate fortunes, who have nothing at heart but to pillage from the wreck of their country. The Duke himself is as unprincipled as his followers; sunk in debaucheries of the lowest kind, and incapable of quitting them for business; not a fool, yet not head enough to conduct anything. In fact, I suppose him used merely as a tool, because of his immense wealth, and that he acquired a certain degree of popularity

by his first opposition to the government, then credited to him as upon virtuous motives. He is certainly borrowing money on a large scale. He is in understanding with the court of London, where he had been long in habits of intimacy. The ministry here are apprehensive, that that ministry will support his designs by war. I have no idea of this, but no doubt, at the same time, that they will furnish him money liberally to aliment a civil war, and prevent the regeneration of this country.

It was suggested to me, some days ago, that the court of Versailles were treating with that of London, for a surrender of their West India possessions, in consideration of a great sum of money to relieve their present distress. Every principle of common sense was in opposition to this fact; yet it was so affirmed as to merit inquiry. I became satisfied the government had never such an idea; but that the story was not without foundation altogether; that something like this was in contemplation between the faction of Orleans and the court of London, as a means of obtaining money from that court. In a conversation with the Count de Montmorin, two days ago, he told me their colonies were speaking a language which gave them uneasiness, and for which there was no foundation. I asked him if he knew anything of what I have just mentioned. He appeared unapprized of it, but to see at once that it would be a probable speculation between two parties circumstanced and principled as those two

are. I apologized to him for the inquiries I had made into this business, by observing that it would be much against our interest, that any one power should monopolize all the West India islands. "Parde, assurement," was his answer.

The *emancipation* of their islands is an idea prevailing in the minds of several members of the National Assembly, particularly those most enlightened and most liberal in their views. Such a step by this country would lead to other emancipations or revolutions in the same quarter. I enclose you some papers received from Mr. Carmichael, relative to the capture of one of our vessels by a Morocco cruiser, and restitution by the Emperor. I shall immediately write to M. Chiappe, to express a proper sense of the Emperor's friendly dispositions to us. I forward also the public papers to the present date; and have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO JAMES MADISON.

PARIS, August 28, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—My last to you was of July the 22d. Since that, I have received yours of May the 27th, June 13th and 30th. The tranquillity of the city has not been disturbed since my last. Dissensions between the French and Swiss guards occasioned some private combats, in which five or six were

killed. These dissensions are made up. The want of bread for some days past, has greatly endangered the peace of the city. Some get a little, some none at all. The poor are the best served, because they besiege perpetually the doors of the bakers. Notwithstanding this distress, and the palpable importance of the city administration to furnish bread to the city, it was not till yesterday, that general leave was given to the bakers to go into the country and buy flour for themselves as they can. This will soon relieve us, because the wheat harvest is well advanced. Never was there a country where the practice of governing too much, had taken deeper root and done more mischief. Their declaration of rights is finished. If printed in time, I will enclose a copy with this. It is doubtful whether they will now take up the finance or the constitution first. The distress for money endangers everything. No taxes are paid, and no money can be borrowed. Mr. Neckar was yesterday to give in a memoir to the Assembly, on this subject. I think they will give him leave to put into execution any plan he pleases, so as to debarrass themselves of this, and take up that of the constitution. No plan is yet reported; but the leading members (with some small difference of opinion) have in contemplation the following: The executive power in a hereditary King, with a negative on laws, and power to dissolve the legislature; to be considerably restrained in the making of treaties, and limited in his expenses. The

legislative is a House of representatives. They propose a Senate also, chosen on the plan of our federal Senate by the Provincial Assemblies, but to be for life, of a certain age (they talk of forty years), and certain wealth (four or five hundred guineas a year), but to have no other power against the laws but to remonstrate against them to the representatives, who will then determine their fate by a simple majority. This, you will readily perceive, is a mere council of revision, like that of New York, which, in order to be something, must form an alliance with the King, to avail themselves of his veto. The alliance will be useful to both, and to the nation. The representatives to be chosen every two or three years. The judiciary system is less prepared than any other part of the plan; however, they will abolish the parliaments, and establish an order of judges and justices, general and provincial, a good deal like ours, with trial by jury in criminal cases certainly, perhaps also in civil. The provinces will have Assemblies for their provincial government, and the cities a municipal body for municipal government, all founded on the basis of popular election. These subordinate governments, though completely dependent on the general one, will be entrusted with almost the whole of the details which our State governments exercise. They will have their own judiciary, final in all but great cases, the executive business will principally pass through their hands, and a certain local legislature will be allowed them.

In short, ours has been professedly their model, in which such changes are made as a difference of circumstances rendered necessary, and some others neither necessary nor advantageous, but into which men will ever run, when versed in theory and new in the practice of government, when acquainted with man only as they see him in their books and not in the world. This plan will undoubtedly undergo changes in the Assembly, and the longer it is delayed, the greater will be the changes; for that Assembly, or rather the patriotic part of it, hooped together heretofore by a common enemy, are less compact since their victory. That enemy (the civil and ecclesiastical aristocracy) begins to raise its head. The lees, too, of the patriotic party, of wicked principles and desperate fortunes, hoping to pillage something in the wreck of their country, are attaching themselves to the faction of the Duke of Orleans; that faction is caballing with the populace, and intriguing at London, the Hague, and Berlin, and have evidently in view the transfer of the crown to the Duke of Orleans. He is a man of moderate understanding, of no principle, absorbed in low vice, and incapable of extracting himself from the filth of that, to direct anything else. His name and his money, therefore, are mere tools in the hands of those who are duping him. * * * * * They may produce a temporary confusion, and even a temporary civil war, supported, as they will be, by the money of England; but they cannot have success ultimately.

The King, the mass of the substantial people of the whole country, the army, and the influential part of the clergy, form a firm phalanx which must prevail. Should those delays which necessarily attend the deliberations of a body of one thousand two hundred men, give time to this plot to ripen and burst, so as to break up the Assembly before anything definite is done, a constitution, the principles of which are pretty well settled in the minds of the Assembly, will be proposed by the national militia (* * * * *), urged by the individual members of the Assembly, signed by the King, and supported by the nation, to prevail till circumstances shall permit its revision and more regular sanction. This I suppose the *pis aller* of their affairs, while their probable event is a peaceable settlement of them. They fear a war from England, Holland, and Prussia. I think England will give money, but not make war. Holland would soon be a fire, internally, were she to be embroiled in external difficulties. Prussia must know this, and act accordingly.

It is impossible to desire better dispositions towards us than prevail in this Assembly. Our proceedings have been viewed as a model for them on every occasion; and though in the heat of debate, men are generally disposed to contradict every authority urged by their opponents, ours has been treated like that of the Bible, open to explanation, but not to question. I am sorry that in the moment of such a disposition, anything should come from

us to check it. The placing them on a mere footing with the English, will have this effect. When of two nations, the one has engaged herself in a ruinous war for us, has spent her blood and money to save us, has opened her bosom to us in peace, and received us almost on the footing of her own citizens, while the other has moved heaven, earth, and hell to exterminate us in war, has insulted us in all her councils in peace, shut her doors to us in every part where her interests would admit it, libelled us in foreign nations, endeavored to poison them against the reception of our most precious commodities; to place these two nations on a footing, is to give a great deal more to one than to the other, if the maxim be true, that to make unequal quantities equal, you must add more to one than the other. To say, in excuse, that gratitude is never to enter into the motives of national conduct, is to revive a principle which has been buried for centuries with its kindred principles of the lawfulness of assassination, poison, perjury, etc. All of these were legitimate principles in the dark ages which intervened between ancient and modern civilization, but exploded and held in just horror in the eighteenth century. I know but one code of morality for men, whether acting singly or collectively. He who says I will be a rogue when I act in company with a hundred others, but an honest man when I act alone, will be believed in the former assertion, but not in the latter. I would say with the poet, "*hic niger*

est, hunc tu Romane cavato." If the morality of one man produces a just line of conduct in him, acting individually, why should not the morality of one hundred men produce a just line of conduct in them, acting together? But I indulge myself in these reflections, because my own feelings run me into them; with you they were always acknowledged. Let us hope that our new government will take some other occasions to show, that they mean to proscribe no virtue from the canons of their conduct with other nations. In every other instance, the new government has ushered itself to the world as honest, masculine, and dignified. It has shown genuine dignity, in my opinion, in exploding adulatory titles; they are the offerings of abject baseness, and nourish that degrading vice in the people.

I must now say a word on the declaration of rights, you have been so good as to send me. I like it, as far as it goes; but I should have been for going further. For instance, the following alterations and additions would have pleased me: Article 4. "The people shall not be deprived of their right to speak, to write, or *otherwise* to publish anything but false facts affecting injuriously the life, liberty, property or reputation of others, or affecting the peace of the confederacy with foreign nations. Article 7. All facts put in issue before any judicature, shall be tried by jury, except, 1, in cases of admiralty jurisdiction, wherein a foreigner shall be interested; 2, in cases cognizable before a court martial, concerning

only the regular officers and soldiers of the United States, or members of the militia in actual service in time of war or insurrection; and 3. in impeachments allowed by the constitution. Article 8. No person shall be held in confinement more than —— days after he shall have demanded and been refused a writ of habeas corpus by the judge appointed by law, nor more than —— days after such a writ shall have been served on the person holding him in confinement, and no order given on due examination for his remandment or discharge, nor more than —— hours in any place at a greater distance than —— miles from the usual residence of some judge authorized to issue the writ of habeas corpus; nor shall that writ be suspended for any term exceeding one year, nor in any place more than —— miles distant from the State or encampment of enemies or of insurgents. Article 9. Monopolies may be allowed to persons for their own productions in literature, and their own inventions in the arts, for a term not exceeding —— years, but for no longer term, and no other purpose. Article 10. All troops of the United States shall stand *ipso facto* disbanded, at the expiration of the term for which their pay and subsistence shall have been last voted by Congress, and all officers and soldiers, not natives of the United States, shall be incapable of serving in their armies by land, except during a foreign war." These restrictions I think are so guarded, as to hinder evil only. However, if we do not have them now, I have so much confidence

in my countrymen, as to be satisfied that we shall have them as soon as the degeneracy of our government shall render them necessary.

I have no certain news of Paul Jones. I understand only, in a general way, that some persecution on the part of his officers occasioned his being called to St. Petersburg, and that though protected against them by the Empress, he is not yet restored to his station. Silas Deane is coming over to finish his days in America, not having one sou to subsist on, elsewhere. He is a wretched monument of the consequences of a departure from right. I will, before my departure, write Colonel Lee fully the measures I have pursued to procure success in his business, and which as yet offer little hope; and I shall leave it in the hands of Mr. Short to be pursued, if any prospect opens on him. I propose to sail from Havre as soon after the first of October as I can get a vessel; and shall consequently leave this place a week earlier than that. As my daughters will be with me, and their baggage somewhat more than that of mere *voyageures*, I shall endeavor, if possible, to obtain a passage for Virginia directly. Probably I shall be there by the last of November. If my immediate attendance at New York should be requisite for any purpose, I will leave them with a relation near Richmond, and proceed immediately to New York. But as I do not foresee any pressing purpose for that journey immediately on my arrival, and as it will be a great saving of time, to finish at once in Virginia,

so as to have no occasion to return there after having once gone to the northward, I expect to proceed to my own house directly. Staying there two months (which I believe will be necessary), and allowing for the time I am on the road, I may expect to be at New York in February, and to embark from thence or some eastern port.

You ask me if I would accept any appointment on that side of the water? You know the circumstances which led me from retirement, step by step, and from one nomination to another, up to the present. My object is a return to the same retirement; whenever, therefore, I quit the present, it will not be to engage in any other office, and most especially any one which would require a constant residence from home. The books I have collected for you will go off for Havre in three or four days, with my baggage. From that port, I shall try to send them by a direct occasion to New York. I am, with great and sincere esteem, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and servant.

P. S. I just now learn that Mr. Neckar proposed yesterday to the National Assembly a loan of eighty millions, on terms more tempting to the lender than the former, and that they approved it, leaving him to arrange the details, in order that they might occupy themselves at once about the constitution.

TO JAMES MADISON.

PARIS, September 6, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—I sit down to write to you without knowing by what occasion I shall send my letter. I do it, because a subject comes into my head, which I would wish to develop a little more than is practicable in the hurry of the moment of making up general despatches.

The question, whether one generation of men has a right to bind another, seems never to have been started either on this or our side of the water. Yet it is a question of such consequences as not only to merit decision, but place also among the fundamental principles of every government. The course of reflection in which we are immersed here, on the elementary principles of society, has presented this question to my mind; and that no such obligation can be transmitted, I think very capable of proof. I set out on this ground, which I suppose to be self-evident, that the *earth belongs in usufruct to the living;* that the dead have neither powers nor rights over it. The portion occupied by any individual ceases to be his when himself ceases to be, and reverts to the society. If the society has formed no rules for the appropriation of its lands in severality, it will be taken by the first occupants, and these will generally be the wife and children of the decedent. If they have formed rules of appropriation, those rules may give it to the wife and children, or to some one of

them, or to the legatee of the deceased. So they may give it to its creditor. But the child, the legatee or creditor, takes it, not by natural right, but by a law of the society of which he is a member, and to which he is subject. Then, no man can, by *natural right*, oblige the lands he occupied, or the persons who succeed him in that occupation, to the payment of debts contracted by him. For if he could, he might during his own life, eat up the usufruct of the lands for several generations to come; and then the lands would belong to the dead, and not to the living, which is the reverse of our principle.

What is true of every member of the society, individually, is true of them all collectively; since the rights of the whole can be no more than the sum of the rights of the individuals. To keep our ideas clear when applying them to a multitude, let us suppose a whole generation of men to be born on the same day, to attain mature age on the same day, and to die on the same day, leaving a succeeding generation in the moment of attaining their mature age, all together. Let the ripe age be supposed of twenty-one years, and their period of life thirty-four years more, that being the average term given by the bills of mortality to persons of twenty-one years of age. Each successive generation would, in this way, come and go off the stage at a fixed moment, as individuals do now. Then I say, the earth belongs to each of these generations during its course, fully and in its own right. The second generation receives it clear of

the debts and incumbrances of the first, the third of the second, and so on. For if the first could charge it with a debt, then the earth would belong to the dead and not to the living generation. Then, no generation can contract debts greater than may be paid during the course of its own existence. At twenty-one years of age, they may bind themselves and their lands for thirty-four years to come; at twenty-two, for thirty-three; at twenty-three, for thirty-two; and at fifty-four, for one year only; because these are the terms of life which remain to them at the respective epochs. But a material difference must be noted, between the succession of an individual and that of a whole generation. Individuals are parts only of a society, subject to the laws of a whole. These laws may appropriate the portion of land occupied by a decedent, to his creditor, rather than to any other, or to his child, on condition he satisfies the creditor. But when a whole generation, that is, the whole society, dies, as in the case we have supposed, and another generation or society succeeds, this forms a whole, and there is no superior who can give their territory to a third society, who may have lent money to their predecessors, beyond their faculties of paying.

What is true of generations succeeding one another at fixed epochs, as has been supposed for clearer conception, is true for those renewed daily, as in the actual course of nature. As a majority of the contracting generation will continue in being thirty-

four years, and a new majority will then come into possession, the former may extend their engagement to that term, and no longer. The conclusion then, is, that neither the representatives of a nation, nor the whole nation itself assembled, can validly engage debts beyond what they may pay in their own time, that is to say, within thirty-four years of the date of the engagement.

To render this conclusion palpable, suppose that Louis the XIV. and XV. had contracted debts in the name of the French nation, to the amount of ten thousand milliards, and that the whole had been contracted in Holland. The interest of this sum would be five hundred milliards, which is the whole rent-roll or net proceeds of the territory of France. Must the present generation of men have retired from the territory in which nature produces them, and ceded it to the Dutch creditors? No; they have the same rights over the soil on which they were produced, as the preceding generations had. They derive these rights not from them, but from nature. They, then, and their soil are, by nature, clear of the debts of their predecessors. To present this in another point of view, suppose Louis XV. and his cotemporary generation, had said to the money lenders of Holland, give us money, that we may eat, drink, and be merry in our day; and on condition you will demand no interest till the end of thirty-four years, you shall then, forever after, receive an annual interest of fifteen per cent. The money is lent on these condi-

tions, is divided among the people, eaten, drunk, and squandered. Would the present generation be obliged to apply the produce of the earth and of their labor, to replace their dissipations? Not at all.

I suppose that the received opinion, that the public debts of one generation devolve on the next, has been suggested by our seeing, habitually, in private life, that he who succeeds to lands is required to pay the debts of his predecessor; without considering that this requisition is municipal only, not moral, flowing from the will of the society, which has found it convenient to appropriate the lands of a decedent on the condition of a payment of his debts; but that between society and society, or generation and generation, there is no municipal obligation, no umpire but the law of nature.

The interest of the national debt of France being, in fact, but a two thousandth part of its rent-roll, the payment of it is practicable enough; and so becomes a question merely of honor or of expediency. But with respect to future debts, would it not be wise and just for that nation to declare in the constitution they are forming, that neither the legislature nor the nation itself, can validly contract more debt than they may pay within their own age, or within the term of thirty-four years? And that all future contracts shall be deemed void, as to what shall remain unpaid at the end of thirty-four years from their date? This would put the lenders, and the borrow-

ers also, on their guard. By reducing, too, the faculty of borrowing within its natural limits, it would bridle the spirit of war, to which too free a course has been procured by the inattention of money lenders to this law of nature, that succeeding generations are not responsible for the preceding.

On similar ground it may be proved, that no society can make a perpetual constitution, or even a perpetual law. The earth belongs always to the living generation: they may manage it, then, and what proceeds from it, as they please, during their usufruct. They are masters, too, of their own persons, and consequently may govern them as they please. But persons and property make the sum of the objects of government. The constitution and the laws of their predecessors are extinguished then, in their natural course, with those whose will gave them being. This could preserve that being, till it ceased to be itself, and no longer. Every constitution, then, and every law, naturally expires at the end of thirty-four years. If it be enforced longer, it is an act of force, and not of right. It may be said, that the succeeding generation exercising, in fact, the power of repeal, this leaves them as free as if the constitution or law had been expressly limited to thirty-four years only. In the first place, this objection admits the right, in proposing an equivalent. But the power of repeal is not an equivalent. It might be, indeed, if every form of government were so perfectly contrived, that the will of the majority

could always be obtained, fairly and without impediment. But this is true of no form. The people cannot assemble themselves; their representation is unequal and vicious. Various checks are opposed to every legislative proposition. Factions get possession of the public councils, bribery corrupts them, personal interests lead them astray from the general interests of their constituents; and other impediments arise, so as to prove to every practical man, that a law of limited duration is much more manageable than one which needs a repeal.

This principle, that the earth belongs to the living and not to the dead, is of very extensive application and consequences in every country, and most especially in France. It enters into the resolution of the questions, whether the nation may change the descent of lands holden in tail; whether they may change the appropriation of lands given anciently to the church, to hospitals, colleges, orders of chivalry, and otherwise in perpetuity; whether they may abolish the charges and privileges attached on lands, including the whole catalogue, ecclesiastical and feudal; it goes to hereditary offices, authorities and jurisdictions, to hereditary orders, distinctions and appellations, to perpetual monopolies in commerce, the arts or sciences, with a long train of *et ceteras;* renders the question of reimbursement, a question of generosity and not of right. In all these cases, the legislature of the day could authorize such appropriations and establishments for their own

time, but no longer; and the present holders, even where they or their ancestors have purchased, are in the case of *bona fide* purchasers of what the seller had no right to convey.

Turn this subject in your mind, my dear Sir, and particularly as to the power of contracting debts, and develop it with that cogent logic which is so peculiarly yours. Your station in the councils of our country gives you an opportunity of producing it to public consideration, of forcing it into discussion. At first blush it may be laughed at, as the dream of a theorist; but examination will prove it to be solid and salutary. It would furnish matter for a fine preamble to our first law for appropriating the public revenue; and it will exclude, at the threshold of our new government, the ruinous and contagious errors of this quarter of the globe, which have armed despots with means which nature does not sanction, for binding in chains their fellow-men. We have already given, in example, one effectual check to the dog of war, by transferring the power of declaring war from the executive to the legislative body, from those who are to spend, to those who are to pay. I should be pleased to see this second obstacle held out by us also, in the first instance. No nation can make a declaration against the validity of long-contracted debts, so disinterestedly as we, since we do not owe a shilling which will not be paid, principal and interest, by the measures you have taken, within the time of our own lives. I write you no news, because

when an occasion occurs, I shall write a separate letter for that.

I am always, with great and sincere esteem, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and servant.

TO DR. GEM.

The hurry in which I wrote my letter to Mr. Madison, which is in your hands, occasioned an inattention to the difference between generations succeeding each other at fixed epochs, and generations renewed daily and hourly. It is true that in the former case, the generation when at twenty-one years of age, may contract a debt for thirty-four years, because a majority of them will live so long. But a generation consisting of all ages, and which legislates by all its members above the age of twenty-one years, cannot contract for so long a time, because their majority will be dead much sooner. Buffon gives us a table of twenty-three thousand nine hundred and ninety-four deaths, stating the ages at which they happened. To draw from these the result I have occasion for, I suppose a society in which twenty-three thousand nine hundred and ninety-four persons are born every year, and live to the age stated in Buffon's table. Then, the following inferences may be drawn. Such a society will consist constantly of six hundred and seventeen thousand seven hundred and three persons, of all ages. Of those living at any one instant of time,

one half will be dead in twenty-four years and eight months. In such a society, ten thousand six hundred and seventy-five will arrive every year at the age of twenty-one years complete. It will constantly have three hundred and forty-eight thousand four hundred and seventeen persons of all ages above twenty-one years, and the half of those of twenty-one years and upwards living at any one instant of time, will be dead in eighteen years and eight months, or say nineteen years.

Then, the contracts, constitutions and laws of every such society become void in nineteen years from their date.

TO E. RUTLEDGE.

PARIS, September 18, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—I have duly received your favor by Mr. Cutting, enclosing the paper from Doctor Trumbull, for which I am very thankful. The conjecture that inhabitants may have been carried from the coast of Africa to that of America, by the trade winds, is possible enough; and its probability would be greatly strengthened by ascertaining a similarity of language, which I consider as the strongest of all proofs of consanguinity among nations. Still a question would remain between the red men of the eastern and western sides of the Atlantic, which is the stock, and which the shoot? If a fact be true, which I suspect to be true, that there is a much

greater number of radical languages among those of America than among those of the other hemisphere, it would be a proof of superior antiquity, which I can conceive no arguments strong enough to overrule.

When I received your letter, the time of my departure was too near, to permit me to obtain information from Constantinople, relative to the demand and price of rice there. I, therefore, wrote to a merchant at Versailles, concerned in the Levant trade, for the prices current of rice at Constantinople and at Marseilles for several years past. He has sent me only the present price at Marseilles, and that of a particular cargo at Constantinople. I send you a copy of his letter. The Algerines form an obstacle; but the object of our commerce in the Mediterranean is so immense, that we ought to surmount that obstacle, and I believe it could be done by means in our power, and which, instead of fouling us with the dishonorable and criminal baseness of France and England, will place us in the road to respect with all the world.

I have obtained, and enclose to you, a state of all the rice imported into this country in the course of one year, which shows its annual consumption to be between eighty-one and eighty-two thousand quintals. I think you may supplant all the other furnishing States, except as to what is consumed at Marseilles and its neighborhood. In fact, Paris is the place of main consumption. Havre, therefore, is the port of deposit, where you ought to have one or

two honest, intelligent and active consignees. The ill success of a first or second experiment should not damp the endeavors to open this market fully, but the obstacles should be forced by perseverance. I have obtained from different quarters seeds of the dry rice; but having had time to try them, I find they will not vegetate, having been too long kept. I have still several other expectations from the East Indies. If this rice be as good, the object of health will render it worth experiment with you. Cotton is a precious resource, and which cannot fail with you. I wish the cargo of olive plants sent by the way of Baltimore, and that which you will perceive my correspondent is preparing now to send, may arrive to you in good order. This is the object for the patriots of your country; for that tree once established there, will be the source of the greatest wealth and happiness. But to insure success, perseverance may be necessary. An essay or two may fail. I think, therefore, that an annual sum should be subscribed, and it need not be a great one. A common country laborer should be engaged to make it his sole occupation, to prepare and pack plants and berries at Marseilles, and in the autumn to go with them himself through the canal of Languedoc to Bordeaux, and there to stay with them till he can put them on board a vessel bound directly for Charleston; and this repeated annually, till you have a sufficient stock insured, to propagate from without further importation. I should guess that fifty guineas a year would

do this, and if you think proper to set such a subscription afoot, write me down for ten guineas of the money, yearly, during my stay in France, and offer my superintendence of the business on this side the water, if no better can be had.

Mr. Cutting does full justice to the honorable dispositions of the legislature of South Carolina towards their foreign creditors. None have yet come into the propositions sent to me, except the Van Staphorsts.

The danger of famine here, has not ceased with a plentiful harvest A new and unskilful administration has not yet got into the way of bringing regular supplies to the Capital. We are in danger of hourly insurrection for the want of bread; and an insurrection once begun for that cause, may associate itself with those discontented for other causes, and produce incalculable events. But if the want of bread does not produce a commencement of disorder, I am of opinion the other discontents will be stifled, and a good and free constitution established without opposition. In fact, the mass of the people, the clergy and army (excepting the higher orders of the three bodies), are in as compact an union as can be. The National Assembly have decided that their executive shall be hereditary, and shall have a suspensive negative on the laws; that the legislature shall be of one House, annual in its sessions and biennial in its elections. Their declaration of rights will give you their other general views. I am just

on my departure for Virginia, where the arrangement of my affairs will detain me the winter; after which (say in February) I shall go on to New York, to embark from some northern port for France. In the meanwhile and always, I am, with great and sincere esteem, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, September 19, 1789.

SIR,—I had the honor of addressing you on the 30th of the last month. Since that, I have taken the liberty of consigning to you a box of officer's muskets, containing half a dozen, made by the person and on the plan which I mentioned to you in a letter which I cannot turn to at this moment, but I think it was of the year 1785. A more particular account of them you will find in the enclosed copy of a letter which I have written to General Knox. The box is marked T. J. No. 36, is gone to Havre, and will be forwarded to you by the first vessel bound to New York, by Mr. Nathaniel Cutting, an American gentleman establishing himself there.

Recalling to your mind the account I gave you of the number and size of ships fitted out by the English last year, for the northern whale fishery, and comparing with it what they have fitted out this year, for the same fishery, the comparison will stand thus:

Years.	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.
1788.	255	75.436	10,710
1789.	178	51.473	7.476
Difference:	77	23.963	3.234

By which you will perceive, that they have lost a third of that fishery in one year, which I think almost entirely, if not quite, ascribable to the shutting the French ports against their oil. I have no account of their southern fishery of the present year.

As soon as I was informed that our bankers had the money ready for the redemption of our captives, I went to the General of the order of the Holy Trinity, who retained all his dispositions to aid us in that business. Having a very confidential agent at Marseilles, better acquainted than himself with the details, he wrote to him for his opinion and information on the subject. I enclose you a copy of his answer, the original of which was communicated to me. I thereupon have authorized the General to go as far as three thuosand livres a head, for our captives, and for this purpose, to adopt the plan proposed, of sending one of his own religion at our expense, (which will be small,) or any other plan he thinks best. The honesty and goodness of his character places us in safety in his hands. To leave him without any hesitation in engaging himself for such a sum of money, it was necessary to deposit it in a banker's hands here Mr. Grand's were agreeable to him, and I have, therefore, desired our banker at Amsterdam, to remit it here. I do not apprehend, in the progress

of the present revolution, anything like a general bankruptcy which should pervade the whole class of bankers. Were such an event to appear imminent, the excessive caution of the house of Grand and Company, establishes it in the general opinion as the last that would give way, and consequently would give time to withdraw this money from their hands. Mr. Short will attend to this, and will withdraw the money on the first well-founded appearance of danger. He has asked me what he shall do with it? Because it is evident, that when Grand can not be trusted, no other individual at Paris can, and a general bankruptcy can only be the effect of such disorders, as would render every private house an insecure deposit. I have not hesitated to say to him, in such an event, "pay it to the government." In this case, it becomes only a change of destination and no loss at all. But this has passed between us for greater caution only, and on the worst case supposable; for though a suspension of payment by government might affect the bankers a little, I doubt if any of them have embarked so much in the hands of government as to endanger failure, and especially as they have had such long warning.

You will have known, that the ordinance passed by M. de Chillon in St. Domingo, for opening ports to our importations in another part of the island, was protested against by Marbois. He had always led the Count de La Luzerne by the nose, while Governor of that island. Marbois' representations, and

Luzerne's prepossessions against our trade with their colonies, occasioned him, as minister of that department, not only to reverse the ordinance, but to recall Chillon and send out a successor. Chillon has arrived here, and having rendered himself very popular in the islands, their deputies in the National Assembly have brought the question before them. The Assembly has done nothing more, as yet, than to appoint a committee of inquiry. So much of Chillon's ordinance as admitted the importation of our provisions, is continued for a time. M. de Marbois, too, is recalled, I know not why or how. M. de La Luzerne's conduct will probably come under view only incidentally to the general question urged by the colony deputies, whether they shall not be free in future, to procure provisions where they can procure them cheapest. But the deputies are dis-, posed to treat M. de La Luzerne roughly. This, with the disgrace of his brother, the Bishop de Langres, turned out of the presidentship of the National Assembly, for partiality in office to the aristocratic principles, and the disfavor of the Assembly towards M. de La Luzerne himself, as having been formerly of the *plot* (as they call it) with Breteuil and Broglio, will probably occasion him to be out of office soon.

The Treasury board have no doubt attended to the necessity of giving timely orders for the payment of the February interest at Amsterdam. I am well informed that our credit is now the first at that

exchange, (England not borrowing at present). Our five per cent. bonds have risen to ninety-seven and ninety-nine. They have been heretofore at ninety-three. There are, at this time, several companies and individuals here, in England and Holland, negotiating to sell large parcels of our *liquidated debt*. A bargain was concluded by one of these the other day, for six hundred thousand dollars. In the present state of our credit, every dollar of this debt will probably be transferred to Europe within a short time.

September the 20th. The combination of bankers and other ministerial tools, had led me into the error (when I wrote my last letter) into which they had led most people, that the loan lately opened here went on well. The truth is, that very little has been borrowed, perhaps not more than six or eight millions. The King and his ministers were yesterday to carry their plate to the mint. The ladies are giving up their jewels to the National Assembly. A contribution of plate in the time of Louis XV. is said to have carried about eight millions to the treasury. Plate is much more common now, and therefore, if the example prevail now in the same degree it did then, it will produce more. The contribution of jewels will hardly be general, and will be unproductive. Mr. Neckar is, on the 25th, to go to the Assembly, to make some proposition. The hundredth penny is talked of.

The Assembly proceeds slowly in the forming their

constitution. The original vice of their numbers causes this, as well as a tumultuous manner of doing business. They have voted that the elections of the legislature shall be biennial; that it shall be of a single body; but they have not yet decided what shall be its number, or whether they shall be all in one room, or in two, (which they call a division into sections). They have determined that the King shall have a *suspensive and iterative veto;* that is, that after negativing a law, it cannot be presented again till after a new election. If he negatives it then, it cannot be presented a third time till after another new election. If it be then presented, he is obliged to pass it. This is perhaps justly considered as a more useful negative than an absolute one, which a King would be afraid to use. Mr. Neckar's influence with the Assembly is nothing at all. Having written to them, by order of the King, on the subject of the veto, before it was decided, they refused to let his letter be read. Again, lately, when they desired the sanction of the King to their proceedings of the fourth of August, he wrote in the King's name a letter to them, remonstrating against an immediate sanction to the whole; but they persisted, and the sanction was given. His disgust at this want of influence, together with the great difficulties of his situation, make it believed that he is desirous of resigning. The public stocks were extremely low the day before yesterday. The *caisse d'escompte* at three thousand six hundred and forty, and the loan of one hundred and

twenty-five millions, of 1784, was at fifteen per cent. loss. Yesterday they rose a little.

The sloth of the Assembly (unavoidable from their number) has done the most sensible injury to the public cause. The patience of a people who have less of that quality than any other nation in the world, is worn thread-bare. Time has been given to the aristocrats to recover from their panic, to cabal, to sow dissensions in the Assembly, and distrust out of it. It has been a misfortune, that the King and aristocracy together have not been able to make a sufficient resistance, to hoop the patriots in a compact body. Having no common enemy of such force as to render their union necessary, they have suffered themselves to divide. The Assembly now consists of four distinct parties. 1. The aristocrats, comprehending the higher members of the clergy, military, nobility, and the parliaments of the whole kingdom. This forms a head without a body. 2. The moderate royalists, who wish for a constitution nearly similar to that of England. 3. The republicans, who are willing to let their first magistracy be hereditary, but to make it very subordinate to the legislature, and to have that legislature consist of a single chamber. 4. The faction of Orleans. The second and third descriptions are composed of honest, well-meaning men, differing in opinion only, but both wishing the establishment of as great a degree of liberty as can be preserved. They are considered together as constituting the patriotic part of the Assembly, and they are supported by

the soldiery of the army, the soldiery of the clergy, that is to say, the Curés and monks, the dissenters, and part of the nobility which is small, and the substantial Bourgeoise of the whole nation. The part of these collected in the cities, have formed themselves into municipal bodies, have chosen municipal representatives, and have organized an armed corps, considerably more numerous in the whole than the regular army. They have also the ministry, such as it is, and as yet, the King. Were the second and third parties, or rather these sections of the same party, to separate entirely, this great mass of power and wealth would be split, nobody knows how. But I do not think they will separate; because they have the same honest views; because, each being confident of the rectitude of the other, there is no rancor between them; because they retain the desire of coalescing. In order to effect this, they not long ago proposed a conference, and desired it might be at my house, which gave me an opportunity of judging of their views. They discussed together their points of difference for six hours, and in the course of discussion agreed on mutual sacrifices. The effect of this agreement has been considerably defeated by the subsequent proceedings of the Assembly, but I do not know that it has been through any infidelity of the leaders to the compromise they had agreed on. Another powerful bond of union between these two parties, is our friend the Marquis de La Fayette. He left the Assembly while they as yet formed but one

party. His attachment to both is equal, and he labors incessantly to keep them together. Should he be obliged to take part against either, it will be against that which shall first pass the Rubicon of reconciliation with the other. I should hope, in this event, that his weight would be sufficient to turn the scale decidedly in favor of the other. His command of the armed militia of Paris (thirty thousand in number, and comprehending the French guards who are five thousand regulars), and his influence with the municipality, would secure their city; and though the armed militia and municipalities of the other cities are in nowise subordinate to those of Paris, yet they look up to them with respect, and look particularly to the Marquis de La Fayette, as leading always to the rights of the people. This turn of things is so probable, that I do not think either section of the patriots will venture on any act, which will place themselves in opposition to him.

This being the face of things, troubled as you will perceive, civil war is much talked of and expected; and this talk and expectation has a tendency to beget it. What are the events which may produce it? 1. The want of bread, were it to produce a commencement of disorder, might ally itself to more permanent causes of discontent, and thus continue the effect beyond its first cause. The scarcity of bread, which continues very great amidst a plenty of corn, is an enigma which can be solved only by observing, that the furnishing the city is in the new municipality,

not yet masters of their trade. 2. A public bankruptcy. Great numbers of the lower as well as higher classes of the citizens, depend for subsistence on their property in the public funds. 3. The absconding of the King from Versailles. This has for some time been apprehended as possible. In consequence of this apprehension, a person whose information would have weight, wrote to the Count de Montmorin, adjuring him to prevent it by every possible means, and assuring him that the flight of the King would be the signal of a St. Bartholomew against the aristocrats in Paris, and perhaps through the kingdom. M. de Montmorin showed the letter to the Queen, who assured him solemnly that no such thing was in contemplation. His showing it to the Queen, proves he entertained the same mistrust with the public. It may be asked, what is the Queen disposed to do in the present situation of things? Whatever rage, pride and fear can dictate in a breast which never knew the presence of one moral restraint.

Upon the whole, I do not see it as yet probable that any actual commotion will take place; and if it does take place, I have strong confidence that the patriotic party will hold together, and their party in the nation be what I have described it. In this case, there would be against them the aristocracy and the faction of Orleans. This consists, at this time, of only the Catilines of the Assembly, and some of the lowest description of the mob. Its force, *within the kingdom*, must depend on how much of this last kind

of people it can debauch with money from its present bias to the right cause. This bias is as strong as any one can be, in a class which must accept its bread from him who will give it. Its resources *out of the kingdom* are not known. Without doubt, England will give money to produce and to feed the fire which should consume this country; but it is not probable she will engage in open war for that. If foreign troops should be furnished, it would be most probably by the King of Prussia, who seems to offer himself as the bull-dog of tyranny to all his neighbors. He might, too, be disturbed by the contagion of the same principles gaining his own subjects, as they have done those of the Austrian Netherlands, Liege, Cologne, and Hesse Cassel. The army of the latter Prince, joining with his subjects, are said to have possessed themselves of the treasures he had amassed by hiring troops to conquer us, and by other iniquities. Fifty-four millions of livres is the sum mentioned. But all these means, external and internal, must prove inadequate to their ultimate object, if the nation be united as it is at present. Expecting within a few days to leave Paris, and that this is my last letter on public subjects, I have indulged myself in giving you a general view of things, as they appear to me at the time of my leaving them. Mr. Short will have the honor of continuing the narration, and of correcting it, where circumstances unknown or unforeseen may give a different turn to events.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the

most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

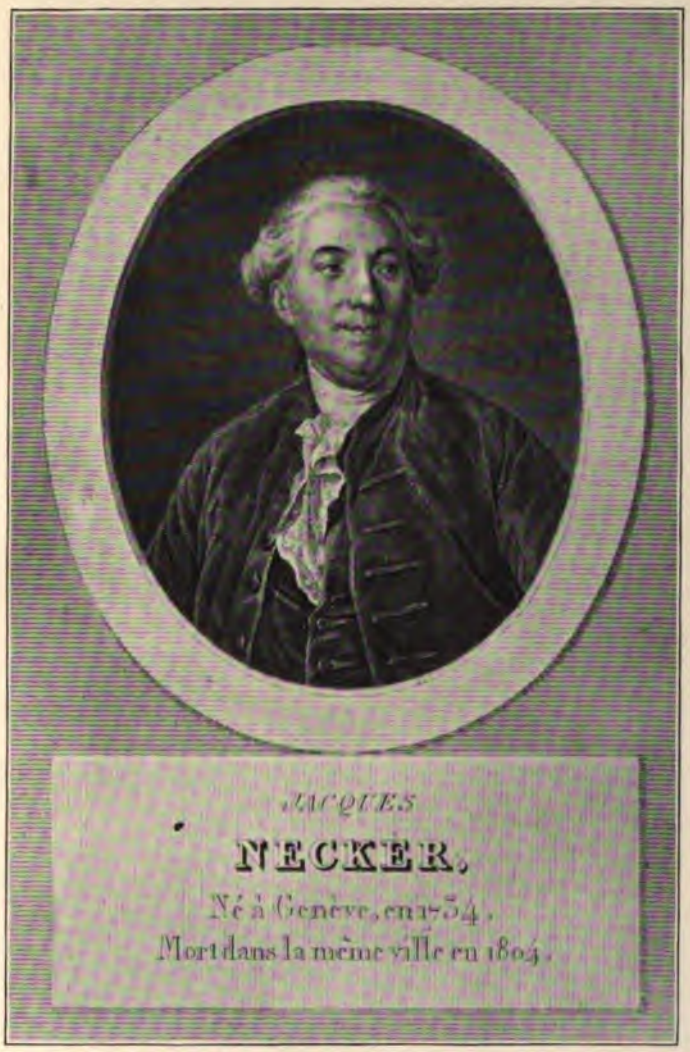
TO MONSIEUR NECKER.

PARIS, September 26, 1789.

SIR,—I had the honor of waiting on you at Versailles the day before yesterday, in order to present my respects on my departure to America. I was unlucky in the moment, as it was one in which you were gone out.

I wished to have put into your hands, at the same time, the enclosed state of the British northern fishery for the years 1788 and 1789, by which you will see that they have lost in one year one-third of that fishery, the effect, almost solely, of the *Arret* which shut the ports of France to their oils.

I wished also to know, whether, while in America, I could be useful towards encouraging supplies of provision to be brought to this country the ensuing year. I am persuaded a considerable relief to the city of Paris might be obtained, by permitting the importation of salted provisions from the United States. Our salted beef particularly (which, since the war, we have learned to prepare in the Irish manner, so as to be as good as the best of that country), could be sold out to the people of Paris for the half of what they pay for fresh meat. It would seem then, that the laborer paying but half the usual price for his meat, might pay the full price of his bread,



JACQUES

NECKER.

Né à Genève, en 1734.

Mort dans la même ville en 1804.

and so relieve government from its loss on that article. The interest of the *gabelles* has been an objection, hitherto, to the importation of salted provisions. But that objection is lessened by the reduction of the price of salt, and done away entirely by the desire of the present government to consider the ease and happiness of the people as the first object. In every country as fully peopled as France, it would seem good policy to encourage the employment of its lands in the cultivation of corn, rather than in pasturage, and consequently to encourage the use of all kinds of salted provisions, because they can be imported from other countries. It may be apprehended, that the Parisian, habituated to fresh provision, would not use salted. Then he would not buy them, and of course they would not be brought, so that no harm can be done by the permission. On the contrary, if the people of Paris should readily adopt the use of salted provisions, the good would result which is before mentioned. Salt meat is not as good as fresh for soups, but it gives a higher flavor to the vegetables boiled with it. The experience of a great part of America, which is fed almost entirely on it, proves it to be as wholesome as fresh meat. The sea scurvy, ascribed by some to the use of salt meat, is equally unknown in America as in Europe. It is the want of vegetables at sea which produces the scurvy. I have thus hastily mentioned reasons and objections, to save you the time and trouble of recollecting them. To you, Sir, it suffices, barely to mention

them. Mr. Short, Chargé des Affaires for the United States, will have the honor of delivering you this, and of giving you any further details which you may be pleased to require.

I shall hope, on my return in the spring, to find your health re-established, and your mind relieved, by a perfect settlement of the affairs of the nation; and with my felicitations on those accounts, to express to you those sentiments of profound respect and attachment with which I have the honor to be, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

HAVRE, September 30, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—No convenient ship having offered from any port of France, I have engaged one from London to take me up at Cowes, and am so far on my way thither. She will land me at Norfolk, and as I do not know any service that would be rendered by my repairing immediately to New York, I propose, in order to economize time, to go directly to my own house, get through the business which calls me there, and then repair to New York, where I shall be ready to re-embark for Europe. But should there be any occasion for government to receive any information I can give, immediately on my arrival, I will go to New York on receiving your orders at Richmond. They may probably be there before

me, as this goes by Mr. Trumbull, bound directly for New York.

I enclose you herewith the proceedings of the National Assembly on Saturday last, wherein you will perceive that the committee had approved the plan of Mr. Neckar. I can add from other sure information received here, that the Assembly adopted it the same evening. This plan may possibly keep their payments alive t ll their new government gets into motion; though I do not think it very certain. The public stocks lowered so exceedingly the last days of my stay at Paris, that I wrote to our bankers at Amsterdam, to desire they would retain till further orders the thirty thousand guilders, or so much of it as had not yet come on. And as to what might be already coming on, I recommended to Mr. Short to go and take the acceptance himself, and keep the bill in his own hands till the time of payment. He will by that time see what is best to be done with the money.

In taking leave of Monsieur de Montmorin, I asked him whether their West India ports would continue open to us awhile. He said they would be immediately declared open till February, and we may be sure they will be so till the next harvest. He agreed with me, that there would be two or three months' provision for the whole kingdom wanting for the ensuing year. The consumption of bread for the whole kingdom, is two millions of livres tournois a day. The people pay the real price of their bread

everywhere, except at Paris and Versailles. There the price is suffered to vary very little as to them, and government pays the difference. It has been supposed that this difference for some time past, has cost a million a week. I thought the occasion favorable to propose to Monsieur de Montmorin the free admission of our salted provisions, observing to him particularly that our salted beef from the Eastern States could be dealt out to the people of Paris for five or six sols the pound, which is but half the common price they pay for fresh beef; that the Parisian paying less for his meat, might pay more for his bread, and so relieve government from its enormous loss on that article. His idea of this resource seemed unfavorable. We talked over the objections of the supposed unhealthiness of that food, its tendency to produce scurvy, the chance of its taking with a people habituated to fresh meat, their comparative qualities of rendering vegetables eatable, and the interests of the gabelles. He concluded with saying the experiment might be tried, and with desiring me to speak with Mr. Neckar. I went to Mr. Neckar, but he had gone to the National Assembly. On my return to Paris, therefore, I wrote to him on the subject, going over the objections which Monsieur de Montmorin had started. Mr. Short was to carry the letter himself, and to pursue the subject.

Having observed that our commerce to Havre is considerably on the increase, and that most of our vessels coming there, and especially those from the

eastward, are obliged to make a voyage round to the neighborhood of the Loire and Garonne for salt, a voyage attended with expense, delay, and more risk, I have obtained from the Farmers General, that they shall be supplied from their magazines at Honfleur, opposite to Havre, at a mercantile price. They fix it at present at sixty livres the *muid*, which comes to about fifteen sous, or seven and a half pence sterling our bushel; but it will vary as the price varies at the place from which they bring it. As this will be a great relief to such of our vessels coming to Havre, as might wish to take back salt, it may perhaps be proper to notify it to our merchants. I enclose herewith Mr. Neckar's discourse to the Assembly, which was not printed till I left Paris, and have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

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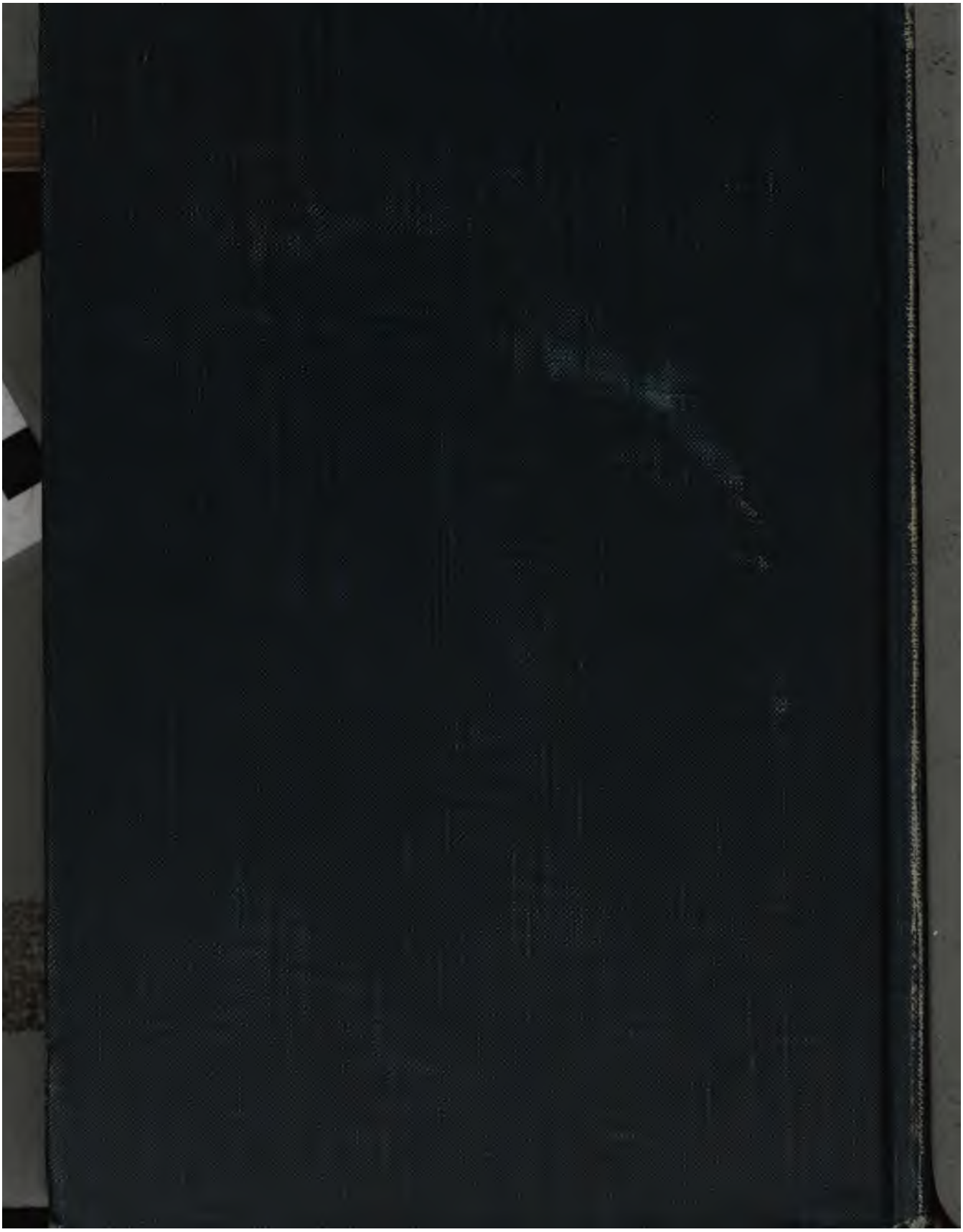
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